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ABSTRACT

Texas, California, and Florida are implementing versions of a percent plan in college admissions. This report assesses these plans using data from published information on the plans; state- and institution-calculated higher education application, admission, and enrollment data; media accounts of social and political contexts surrounding the plans; and interviews with key administrators at several flagship institutions. The report describes the public university systems, outlines the history of each plan's creation, and presents data on the effectiveness of these plans in creating and maintaining racially diverse student bodies. It also highlights efforts of individual flagship institutions (where, because of the competitiveness of their admission standards, race-conscious policies have been essential in maintaining diversity) toward these goals. In outlining similarities and differences in these three states' approaches to ending race-conscious admission policies, the report attempts to determine whether percent plans work to maintain diversity on public university campuses. Overall, the percent plans have the least impact on the most competitive campuses. Only the Texas plan provides automatic admission to the best campuses. Increased diversity on many campuses cannot be singularly attributed to percent plans because they have happened in the context of extensive race-attentive efforts by these schools. Four appendices contain high school completion rates by state (1994-2000), college enrollment rates by state (2000), and participating high schools in the Texas and California programs. (Contains 1 figure, 30 tables, and 111 references.) (SM)

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PERCENT PLANS IN COLLEGE ADMISSIONS: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THREE STATES' EXPERIENCES

By Catherine L. Horn and Stella M. Flores
Foreword by Gary Orfield

February 2003

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Foreword

In the wake of the abandonment of race-conscious affirmative action policies, percent plans for college admission were adopted in three of our largest states, California, Texas and Florida. Advocates hail these policies as good substitutes for affirmative action, while critics claimed that they are often ineffective and based on another form of race-conscious action — targeting racially segregated high schools. Although presented as new initiatives, these plans actually represent a return to an old method of admitting students to leading colleges — the evaluation of high school grades and class standing.

Traditional race-conscious affirmative action strategies are built around the recognition of the many ways in which inequality and segregation in institutions are self-perpetuating and the belief that intentional planning and support are needed to overcome the obstacles to successful integration. To accomplish its goals, affirmative action has had to develop into a process with many interrelated parts, most importantly:

- making connections with students and schools of historically excluded and underrepresented groups
- urging them to consider applying for admissions
- creating events on campus and elsewhere for establishing contact and responding to fears and uncertainty
- providing assistance in getting ready for college
- considering diversity as a positive goal in the admissions process
- valuing special experiences and accomplishments of each group and individual
- making it possible for students to exercise a real choice through provision of needed financial aid
- and providing a supportive environment on campus to change the success of students and the reputation of a school.

All of these steps take race into account and have, as a goal, making the university more reflective of the overall community and better able to incorporate diverse personal and intellectual perspectives that will enrich campus discussion, learning, and the development of students. Good affirmative action programs include all of that, and more. Without this broad formulation such programs cannot succeed. Mere admission, for example, would not be sufficient to address the forces that tend to keep institutions segregated. (Readers who may be skeptical about this should think about the worries they might have and the assurances they would seek in sending their children to institutions overwhelmingly of another race, with large cultural differences, and a history of exclusion).

Obviously, within this broad conception of affirmative action, the actual decision about admission and whether or not race is considered as one of a number of "plus factors", as in *Bakke*, is only one part of the process. If a disadvantaged minority student is admitted but cannot afford to attend, or believes he will be treated badly on campus, the decision to admit may mean little. Admission is a necessary but not sufficient condition for accomplishing the goals. On the other hand, outreach and aid programs that target

minority communities and, as a result, double or triple applications from minority students can contribute strongly to gains. When institutions say that they have ended affirmative action, they are almost always talking about one part of an interrelated process, while continuing affirmative policies on other fronts, either through direct action or by adopting "race-attentive" recruitment policies focused on largely minority communities and schools.

In fact, simply enacting a percent plan does almost nothing to replace affirmative action. In Florida, for example, where race-conscious affirmative action is outlawed only in admissions, it is actively pursued in other parts of the process. In states where affirmative action is outlawed more comprehensively, the campuses and states are actively pursuing a variety of outreach strategies that are focused on schools and areas with predominantly black and Hispanic populations. These policies are not race-conscious at the level of the individual student, but are built on the high levels of racial segregation in the k-12 system, that can often be identified in many non-racial ways. These other forms of race-conscious affirmative action under the right conditions can help some campuses at least partially recover their preexisting levels of diversity, but none show any potential for keeping up with the transforming populations of the states or creating greater equity in educational systems, which showed profound inequalities even at the peak of affirmative action.

The world in which we are debating the future of affirmative action poses serious and growing problems for non-racial strategies. The proportion of minority students is rapidly growing; they are already the majority in public schools of six states, including California and Texas. After several decades of progress, the educational achievement gap between racial groups began growing again in the 1990s. Dropout rates are rising after a long decline. Our public schools are becoming increasingly segregated by race and income and the segregated schools are, on average, strikingly inferior in many important ways, including the quality and experience of teachers and the level of competition from other students. Given these facts, it is clear that students of different races do not receive an equal chance for college.

Once in college, young white and Asian students are still more than twice as likely as blacks and Latinos to receive B.A. degrees. Our national college-going rate, long the envy of the world, is now falling behind other countries. The underlying trends do not point to solutions without sustained conscious efforts. The trend is toward growing inequality. In this kind of setting, strictly non-racial admissions policies would tend to further intensify educational segregation and intergenerational inequality.

After affirmative action was taken away as an option, some of its leading critics began attacking universities that focus on recruitment in concentrated poverty schools, where most students are likely to be African American or Hispanic. These attacks are simply misguided. The truth is, that almost all the traditional considerations in admissions disproportionately help white students since they are much more likely to be legacies, to have households with more educational resources, to attend more competitive suburban schools, to receive more information about college, and to be able to pay for professional

preparation for admissions tests. If we are to ban an approach because it happens to disproportionately help African Americans or Latinos as discriminatory, then the same argument could be turned against all those policies that give disproportionate preference to whites. I believe that colleges should be praised rather than attacked for their serious efforts to keep their doors open to all after the loss of an important tool like affirmative action.

There are many good and dedicated people working very hard to try to keep campuses diverse in the states that have lost affirmative action. It is a difficult, complex, and an uphill battle. Too often, despite their best efforts, they fall short. Affirmative action is a modest and effective tool that universities need, and it is simply wrong to suggest that we have found any kind of simple non-racial alternative.

The suggestion the percent plan admissions by itself can solve this problem is, as this report shows, obviously incorrect. This issue is much too important to the future of our great universities and to our society to be decided on the basis of an incorrect premise or misstated statistics. The future of our great public and private universities and their ability to prepare the coming generations of leaders for a profoundly multiracial and deeply unequal society are issues of the deepest importance. I hope that this report will illuminate the discussion of how we can best pursue that goal.

Gary Orfield
Professor of Education & Social Policy
Co-Director, Civil Rights Project
Harvard University

February 5, 2003

Percent Plans in College Admissions: A Comparative Analysis of Three States' Experiences

Introduction

Currently, three of the country's largest states – Texas, California, and Florida – are implementing versions of a percent plan. The most common claims of success toward this end have been through the use of percent plans by state universities, which guarantee admission for a fixed percentage of the top students from every high school in the state. In particular, these plans are being praised as effective in maintaining minority enrollment, and critics of affirmative action argue that such evidence is ample proof that race-conscious admissions policies are unnecessary (Selingo, 2000). This report explores how each of these plans works and how effective each has been toward the goal of a racially diverse student body. It is important to note that percent plans are being applied only to public university undergraduate admission policies. As such, the scope and findings of this report have no relationship to the issues of admissions for out-of-state students or to private colleges, graduate schools and professional schools.[1]

Texas, California and Florida each have an extended and unique history of limited access to higher education for minorities (e.g., see Allen, Bonous-Hammarth, & Teranishi, 2002; Moreno, 1999; Newell, 1988; Siegel, 1998), further exacerbated by historically separate and unequal public elementary and secondary school systems that differentially prepare students for college (e.g., see Hawley & Rossell, 1983; Weinberg, 1995). Given these and other factors that have long influenced the extent to which students of color have had opportunities to be admitted to and enroll in college, universities in these states, especially flagship institutions, have, as permitted, made use of legally protected race-conscious admissions practices to improve minority presence on campuses.[2] In fact, when active federal enforcement began in the 1970s, Texas and Florida were required to take positive steps to remedy the continuing impact of the history of legally mandated segregation in higher education by devising and carrying out plans to correct the inequality and integrate their public campuses (see discussion in subsequent section).

Despite their legitimacy (as established by the Supreme Court in *Bakke v. Regents of the University of California* (1978)) and utility in improving diversity on college campuses, race-conscious higher education admissions policies in Texas, California, and Florida have been fiercely challenged and, ultimately, abandoned in the last decade. Decisions by a court in Texas (*Hopwood v. Texas)*, by the Board of Regents referendum in California (SP-1 confirmed by Proposition 209), and by executive order of the governor in Florida (the One Florida Initiative) have ended the ability of universities in these three states to use race/ethnicity as a consideration in the admission process. As a partial

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[1] Representative Ron Wilson, D-Houston, Texas, recently filed House Bill 484, which would require graduate and professional schools to admit undergraduates who graduate in the top 10 percent of their college class regardless of scores on graduate admissions exams (Phillips, 2003).

[2] Social science studies repeatedly find that race-conscious admissions policies are almost exclusively applied only at the most selective institutions (e.g., see the work of Bowen & Bok, 1998; Kane, 1998). This paper concentrates on such schools in Texas, California, and Florida.

means of addressing the observed and/or anticipated negative impact of these decisions on campus diversity, Texas, California, and Florida have each begun to implement a percent plan guaranteeing admission to a certain percentage of the top high school graduates (either to a particular university or to a university system).

Sweeping claims have been made about the effectiveness of percent plans, but as this study shows, making such assessments is complicated. Although, at first glance, the Texas, California, and Florida plans appear to be very similar, in fact they vary widely, and key differences must be noted when considering their implementation and effectiveness. In particular, the specific mechanics of the policies, the larger context in which they were implemented and are being maintained, and additional policies and practices that support, or in some cases work separately from, percent plans to affect campus diversity differ in some very fundamental ways. Current public discussion of percent plans seems to suggest that simply designating a percentage of each high school class entitled to public university admission results in diverse college campuses. However, the story of whether percent plans are effective is, in fact, much more complex.

To better assess these plans and their effects, this study utilizes several key sources of data from each state, including: published information on the percent plans available online and through printed materials; state- and institution-calculated higher education application, admission, and enrollment data; newspaper and other accounts of the social and political context surrounding the plans; and interviews with key administrators at several flagship institutions.

This report first generally describes the public university systems in Texas, California, and Florida. Next, it outlines the histories of the plans' creation and then lays out the components of each in detail. The paper then presents data related to the effectiveness of these plans in creating and maintaining a racially diverse student body. Finally, the report highlights particular efforts of individual flagship institutions (where, because of the competitiveness of their admission standards, race-conscious policies have been most essential to maintain diversity) toward these same goals. In outlining the similarities as well as the differences in these three key states' approaches to the end of race-conscious admission policies, this paper attempts to answer the question of whether percent plans work to maintain diversity on public university campuses in Texas, California, and Florida. Given the rapidly changing demographics in these states, which include a substantially increasing minority population and which will result in Texas and California becoming majority non-white in the near future, the answer is critically important.

The Systems

Texas, California, and Florida have very different public university systems, both in terms of structure and in terms of nationally recognized academic rigor. Texas has 35 public universities under five separate governing boards.[3] A Texas Higher Education

[3] Three of the 35 institutions - Stephen F. Austin University, Texas Southern University, and Texas Women's University - are not governed by any of these boards (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, n.d.a).

Coordinating Board (THECB) works with the institutions, the governor, and the legislature to fulfill such overarching responsibilities as developing statewide higher education planning efforts, reviewing and recommending changes in the formulas for allocating legislative appropriations to higher education institutions, and administering the state's student financial aid programs (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, 2001). Among the public institutions in Texas, two are considered the flagship or most selective schools: the University of Texas at Austin (UT Austin) and Texas Agricultural and Mechanical University (Texas A&M) (Chapa, 1999). These institutions maintain the highest level of admissions criteria and are the most competitive in the state with respect to admissions. Nationally, *U.S. News and World Report* ranks UT Austin 47th among the top 50 schools in the country and Texas A&M among the second tier (out of four) of national universities (*U.S. News and World Report*, 2003). According to the *Peterson's Guide to Four-Year Colleges* (2003), UT Austin admitted roughly 64 percent and Texas A&M 69 percent of the students who applied, which represent a crude indicator of selectivity. The majority of the remaining schools in Texas admit more than 80 percent of all students who apply (*Peterson's Guide*, 2003).

The 1960 California Master Plan established California's higher education structure and designated the roles of the University of California, California State University, and California Community College systems in the state. In particular, the Master Plan designates the University of California (UC), currently with nine institutions, as the primary state-supported academic research institutional system charged with providing undergraduate, graduate, and professional education (University of California, 2002b). The California State University System (CSU), with its 23 campuses, has the mission of providing undergraduate and graduate education through the master's degree, with particular emphasis on "applied" fields and teacher education (University of California Office of the President, 1999). According to the original Master Plan, UC was to select its admitted students from among the top 12.5 percent and CSU from among the top one-third of the of the statewide high school graduating class.[4] The Regents and the Board of Trustees govern the UC and CSU systems, respectively. The flagship institutions in the University of California system include Berkeley (ranked 23rd nationally) and the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) (ranked 25th nationally) (*U.S. News and World Report*, 2003). Admissions in the UC system are highly competitive. Berkeley admitted roughly 26 percent of the students who applied; UCLA admitted 27 percent (*Peterson's Guide*, 2003). Four additional UC schools also have higher selectivity (based on percent of applicants admitted) than either flagship in Texas.[5]

A single state university system encompasses all eleven public universities in Florida. Before 2001, the Board of Regents governed the system. In July 2001, however, it was replaced by a new legislatively created governance structure that combined the public school, community college, and state university systems. Under this new "K-20" system, each pubic university has a Board of Trustees that oversees operations of the institution.

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[4] The Master Plan has been revised such that all California residents in the top 12.5 or 33.3 percent of the statewide high school graduating class be offered a place in the UC or CSU system, respectively, but not necessarily at the campus or in the major of choice (University of California Office of the President, 1999).
[5] Those include Davis, Irvine, San Diego, and Santa Barbara.

The Division of Colleges and Universities works with the divisions for community colleges and public schools and acts as an advocate for universities (Florida Division of Colleges and Universities, n.d.).[6] The two most highly ranked institutions in the state, the University of Florida and Florida State University, are in the second tier of national universities. Florida State admits roughly half of all students who apply; the University of Florida admits 60 percent of its applicants. Among the remaining schools in the University System, all but one admit more than 60 percent of their applicants.

Public universities in Texas, California, and Florida vary widely in the way they are governed and in the selectivity of their campuses. Among the three, the University of California system is by far the most selective, especially among the flagship institutions. The premier universities in Texas and Florida are comparable in the percentage of applicants they admit, and only UT Austin is in the first tier of nationally ranked schools. These fundamental differences are important backdrops as we now turn to a discussion of how percent plans were arrived at in Texas, California, and Florida.

Setting (Building) the Stage - Texas

Historically, Texas public universities (like the K-12 system) have struggled with issues of racial segregation. The Texas Constitution mandated segregated schools until 1954 and UT Law School had scholarships "for whites only" until 1969 (Holley & Spencer, 1999). The state has also struggled to comply with legislative and court orders to correct the history of unconstitutional segregation at these public institutions.[7] Beginning in the 1970s and followed by subsequent reviews in 1980, 1987, and 1997 (after the *Hopwood* decision), the federal Office for Civil Rights (OCR) investigated the state's efforts to remedy vestiges of *de jure* segregation in public higher education (Kortez et al., 2001). Both in response to OCR's 1973 inquiry that found Texas had failed to eliminate the vestiges of a former *de jure* racially dual system of public higher education and to avoid enforcement proceedings, the state introduced plans to comply with the anti-discrimination provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, n.d.b).[8] In the first of these, which was finally approved and federally monitored beginning from 1983 until 1988, Texas committed to working toward "reducing by at least 50 percent, over a five-year period, the disparities between the proportion of first-time-in-college white high school graduates and white first time undergraduate transfers from all Texas public postsecondary institutions, taken together, and the proportions of black and Hispanic high school graduates and first time undergraduate transfers from all Texas public postsecondary institutions, taken together, respectively, who enter the traditionally white senior institutions throughout the State" (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, n.d.c).

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[6] This newly implemented governance structure was actually replaced by ballot initiative in November 2002. The amended Florida Constitution creates a seventeen-member statewide governing board (Schmidt, 2002).

[7] The Supreme Court's 1950 decision in *Sweatt v. Painter*, for example, ruled that Texas could not satisfy its Fourteenth Amendment responsibilities by creating a separate law school for blacks (*Sweatt v. Painter*, 339 U.S. 629).

[8] See: *Texas Bad: A Concise History of Civil Rights Findings* for more information on each of these plans (Texas Civil Rights Review, n.d.).

The second formalized plan (effective1989-1993) committed to "increase the enrollment, retention, and graduation rates of black and Hispanic students at every public institution of higher education" by increasing financial aid and by developing cooperative recruitment programs with middle and secondary schools (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, n.d.d). In Access and Equity 2000, the subsequent six-year plan, the state set as its first goal institutional "minority enrollment reflect[ing] the population of areas it serves and from which it recruits students" (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, n.d.e). In the most recent of these investigations, begun in 1997, the OCR found that the "disparities traceable to *de jure* segregation still existed" in the areas of the mission of the universities, the land grant status of Prairie View A&M University when compared to Texas A&M University, program duplication, facilities, funding, and the racial identifiability of public universities in Texas (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, 2000, p. 1). In response, Texas introduced a new "Texas Commitment," which included the goal of improving the recruitment, retention, and participation rates of African American and Hispanic students at the historically white institutions (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, 2000).[9]

It was within this context of implementing policies under legal mandate from the federal government to meet the still unmet goal of overcoming a history of discrimination that a new legal struggle began. Four white students who had been denied entrance to the University of Texas (UT) law school filed suit against UT in 1992, claiming that its admissions policies were a violation of their Fourteenth Amendment right to equal protection (*Hopwood v. Texas)*. The law school at that time used a series of relatively mechanistic procedures that placed prospective students in either the presumptive admit, discretionary, or presumptive denial category based on their Texas Index score (a weighted score calculated using undergraduate GPA and LSAT scores).[10] In this process, Mexican American and black applicants considered for admission were able to have lower Texas Index scores to be presumptively admitted (Hardtke, 1997). Ultimately, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in 1996 not only rejected the argument that the law school's admission policies withstood strict scrutiny of the Fourteenth Amendment's Equal Protection Clause, but went so far as to prohibit any race-conscious admissions policies. This unusual action by a lower court, rejecting the precedent of the Supreme Court's *Bakke* decision, was grounded in the belief that the high court's policies had been, in effect, rendered obsolete by other recent Supreme Court decisions rejecting race-based remedies in other fields.[11] The Court of Appeals wrote:

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[9] In creating a plan, Texas had to balance the standard set by *United States v. Fordice* (505 U.S. 717 (1992)), which found that race neutral policies alone were not sufficient to "determine that a state has effectively discharged its affirmative obligation to dismantle a formerly de jure segregated system of higher education" and the standard set by *Hopwood v. Texas et al.* (84 F.2d 720 (5th Cir. 1996)), which ruled that diversity was not a sufficiently compelling state interest (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, 2000, p. 1).

[10] Specifically, the Texas Index was weighted 60 percent LSAT score, 40 percent undergraduate GPA. The formula was LSAT + (10)(GPA) = TI (*Hopwood v. Texas)*.

[11] In response to the *Hopwood* case, Texas State Attorney General Dan Morales released an opinion suggesting that the state's public universities refrain from considering race/ethnicity in all "internal institutional policies" including admissions, financial aid, scholarships, fellowships, recruitment, and

> Within the general principles of the Fourteenth Amendment, the use of race in admissions for diversity in higher education contradicts, rather than furthers, the aims of equal protection. Diversity fosters, rather than minimizes, the use of race. It treats minorities as a group, rather than as individuals. It may further remedial purposes but, just as likely, may promote improper racial stereotypes, thus fueling racial hostility.
>
> The use of race, in and of itself, to choose students simply achieves a student body that looks different. Such a criterion is no more rational on its own terms than would be choices based upon the physical size or blood type of applicants. (*Hopwood v. State of Texas*, 78 F.3d 932; 1996 U.S. App. LEXIS 4719 p. 15).

The Appeals Court's decision thus effectively ended the University's race-conscious affirmative action plan and created a tidal wave of reaction across the state as minority gains in higher education were threatened.[12] David Montejano, UT history professor at this time, wrote, "Admissions and scholarship policies at Texas universities were in a state of disarray. There was justifiable concern that Mexican American and African American enrollments at the University of Texas would plummet if there was no plan to replace affirmative action" (1998, p. 2). As the higher education community struggled to understand what the court decision might mean in terms of minority admission, enrollment, and graduation numbers, key democratic legislators began to recruit a group of academics and policy makers to study possible admission alternatives. In particular, several faculty members associated with the Center for Mexican American Studies at the University of Texas, as well as others from the University of Houston and the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF), responded to a request from State Senator Gonzalo Barrientos (D-Austin) to create a task force analyzing the implications of the *Hopwood* decision. This group was further charged with generating alternatives that could be drafted into legislation (Montejano, 1998). The final result of the committee's work was a draft of a bill outlining a three-part admission process including the automatic admission of each student in the top 10 percent of each accredited public or private high school as a first-time freshman to the public "general academic teaching institution"[13] of his/her choice; the option for universities to extend the

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retention (Letter Opinion No. 97-001). In 1999, Attorney General John Cornyn rescinded Morales' opinion, stating that "Absent clear guidance from the High Court, we think it inadvisable to reach broad conclusions on what may or may not be permitted under *Hopwood* on matters other than admissions" (Opinion No. JC-0107).

[12] Interestingly, implementation of the third plan (1994-2000), which again outlined goals of increasing minority enrollment, retention, and graduation rates, came into question after the *Hopwood* ruling. In their January 1997 meeting, the Higher Education Coordinating Board re-endorsed the plan and "called on institutions to vigorously pursue the Plan's goals but to use criteria consistent with current state and federal law in the areas of admissions, financial aid and student retention" (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, n.d.b).

[13] As defined by Section 61.003 of the Texas Education Code, "general academic teaching institution" includes the following schools: The University of Texas at Austin; The University of Texas at El Paso; The University of Texas of the Permian Basin; The University of Texas at Dallas; The University of Texas at San Antonio; Texas A&M University, Main University; The University of Texas at Arlington; Tarleton State University; Prairie View A&M University; Texas Maritime Academy; Texas Tech University; University of North Texas; Lamar University; Lamar State College - Orange; Lamar State College - Port

automatic admission threshold to the top 25 percent; and a list of 18 other factors that schools might consider in admissions (House Bill 588).[14]

The proposed automatic admission plan was not, however, a drastic departure from UT's previous admission practices. A standard policy practiced until 1993 allowed the automatic admission of a top 10 percent student applicant into the university. This practice was slightly altered beginning in 1994 to include a more restrictive combination of high school class rank and SAT scores (Chapa, forthcoming). State Senator Barrientos and State Representative Irma Rangel (D-Kingsville) introduced this newly constructed and more broadly reaching percent plan legislation in the 75th Legislature (1997). Signed into law by Governor George W. Bush, House Bill 588 was passed by the 75th Texas Legislature passed House Bill 588 in 1997, making eligible for automatic admission all students in the top 10 percent of their graduating class, regardless of standardized test score, to *any* public university in Texas (House Bill 588).

Same Dance, Different Song - California

Around the same time as the *Hopwood* ruling, California began to initiate efforts to end the consideration of race/ethnicity in hiring, contracting, and admissions decisions. First, in 1995, the UC system's Board of Regents voted to ban the use of race/ethnicity in its admissions process (SP-1).[15] In 1996, the California Civil Rights Initiative (Proposition 209) campaign amended the California Constitution creating an affirmative action ban beyond higher education admissions to also include public employment and contracting (Chavez, 1998). Specifically, it read, "The state shall not discriminate against, or grant preferential treatment to, any individual or group on the basis of race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin in the operation of public employment, public education, or public contracting" (California Constitution). It was fully implemented in 1998, marking a culmination of initiatives aimed at ending affirmative action in California.

In his 1999 inaugural address three years after the passage of Proposition 209, newly elected Governor Gray Davis proposed that each public and private high school graduate in the state of California finishing in the top 4 percent of his/her class receive guaranteed admission to the UC system. He argued that "we will seek to ensure diversity and fair play by guaranteeing to those students who truly excel... - whether it's in West Los

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Arthur; Texas A&M University - Kingsville; Texas A&M University - Corpus Christi; Texas Women's University; Texas Southern University; Midwestern State University; University of Houston; University of Texas - Pan American; The University of Texas at Brownsville; Texas A&M University - Commerce; Sam Houston State University; Southwest Texas State University; West Texas A&M University; Stephen F. Austin State University; Sul Ross State University; Angelo State University; The University of Texas at Tyler; and any other college, university, or institution so classified by law (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Act of 1965).

[14] Those factors include: academic record, socioeconomic background, first-generation college student status, bilingualism, financial status of the applicant's district employment history; extracurricular activity, and personal interview.

[15] In May, 2001, the University Board of Regents in California voted to repeal SP-1, although it was largely symbolic because the university system is still bound by the amended Constitution banning the use of race in admissions and employment practices (University of California Office of the President, 2001). The repeal was seen as a message to the state that the UC system welcomes minority students (Schmidt, 2001).

Angeles or East Palo Alto - those kids who excel will automatically be admitted..." (1999).[16] This call to action, similar in theory to the Texas 10 percent plan, sparked efforts to pass the 4 percent plan, despite the fact that admission to the University of California campuses, and particularly the flagship institutions, was far more competitive than admission to Texas institutions, thus making it much less likely that a percentage plan would effectively overcome the loss of race-conscious affirmative action on the most selective campuses.[17]

Although the 4 percent plan enjoyed strong bi-partisan support, it still met with some skepticism from both sides. From conservatives, concerns were raised about the effect of such a plan on the quality and reputation of the UC schools, in particular the flagship institutions (i.e., UC Berkeley and UCLA). As Ward Connerly said, "If you admit the top 4 percent at every high school, while that sounds good politically, the effect is that...without a doubt it does amount to a relaxing of statewide standards" (Gose, 1999). In particular, critics were concerned that more qualified high school students might be kept out of the system because less qualified but automatically admitted applicants would take up increasing numbers of slots available. Additionally, there were apprehensions that the students eligible under the 4 percent plan who came from lower-quality high schools might be set up for failure in a system not equipped to mitigate their weaknesses (Gorman, 1999).

From the progressives, doubts were raised about whether such a plan would increase the numbers of minorities on UC campuses. For example, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights released a report charging that the plan constituted an "experimental response to the attacks on affirmative action...but ... no substitute for strong race-conscious affirmative action in higher education" (2000). The University Council of the California Federation of Teachers argued that because the guarantee extended only to system admission not to a particular campus, weight given to SAT scores in University of California admissions might merely be moved to another stage of the admission process (Hopcraft, 1999). Critics have also pointed to the "cascading" of minority students to less selective campuses (Selingo, 1999c).

Despite concerns, however, the University of California Board of Regents voted 13 to 1 to put the policy into place just three months after Davis's initial announcement. In considering the fall 2001 freshman applications, the university system implemented the automatic admissions plan, known as Eligibility in Local Context (ELC), guaranteeing only system admission to the top 4 percent of each high school's graduates, under the banner of advancing several goals. First, it was intended to increase the pool of eligible students such that the UC system would be in compliance with the guidelines set by the

[16] The 2000-2001 California state budget included a substantial increase (raising total expenditures to over $250 million to the UC system budget earmarked for outreach efforts including teacher development; on-line Advanced Placement courses; a summer school for math and science; and algebra and pre-algebra academies (The Regents of the University of California Committee on Finance, 2000).

[17] Originally, the 4 percent plan had been designed as a plan where the top12.5 percent of every high school would be guaranteed admission to the system, but concerns about lower academic standards and space constraints led to its rejection (Guerrero, 2002).

California Master Plan for Higher Education, specifically to increase the number of high school graduates eligible for UC admission from 11.1 percent to 12.5 percent (Lightfoot, 1999). Second, the Board of Regents hoped that ELC would give "UC a presence in each California high school and serve to stimulate a college-going culture at those high schools that typically do not send many graduates to the University" (Student Academic Services, 2002). As an additional by-product of the ELC, state officials hoped that low-performing elementary and high schools would be encouraged to offer the plan's necessary courses, thus bolstering educational reform (Gorman, 1999). Finally, the ELC program would recognize individual academic achievement in the context of "the student's high school and the opportunities available to the student" (Student Academic Services, 2002).

Warding Off - Florida[18]

Early in 1999, Ward Connerly, the leader of the voter referendum to end affirmative action in California, brought a similar campaign seeking to end gender- and race-conscious policies in public education, employment, and contracting to Florida (Wallsten, 1999).[19] While publicly opposing Connerly's initiative as divisive, Governor Jeb Bush implemented a review of Florida's affirmative action policies to determine their legal viability, looking particularly at the Texas model (Weissert, 1999). To preempt Connerly's efforts and an impending court ruling on it's the state's race-conscious affirmative action policies (Selingo, 1999a), Governor Bush voluntarily implemented "One Florida" (Executive Order 99-281) in November, 1999,[20] eliminating the use of race- or gender-conscious decisions in government employment, state contracting, and higher education (One Florida, n.d.). While Bush's plan eliminated the use of race and gender in college and university admissions decisions, however, race consciousness was still permissible in awarding scholarships, conducting outreach, or developing pre-college summer programs (Executive Order 99-281).

Concurrent with the implementation of One Florida, Governor Bush initiated the Talented 20 policy to the Florida State University System (SUS). This plan, guaranteeing only system admission to public high school graduates who finished in the top 20 percent of their class and had completed the required coursework, was to be implemented immediately, beginning with undergraduate admissions for fall 2000[21] (Selingo, 1999e).

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[18] This and subsequent discussions of Florida are drawn, with permission, from Marin and Lee (2003), *Appearance and Reality in the Sunshine State: The Talented 20 Program in Flor*ida.

[19] On July 20, 2000, Mr. Connerly's campaign ended unsuccessfully when the justices of Florida's Supreme Court indicated the wording of the proposed referendum did not meet the state's Constitutional requirements of dealing with a single subject and being written clearly.

[20] With the implementation of the One Florida Initiative, Florida became the first state to have a government official end its affirmative action policies.

[21] While race-conscious admission policies were prohibited in undergraduate and in graduate and professional programs, implementation of the policy for graduate and professional schools was delayed until the fall 2001 admission decisions to provide time for institutions to develop alternative recruitment methods (Selingo, 1999d).

Almost immediately following that decision, the NAACP filed an administrative challenge to the plan, charging that an inappropriate decision-making process was used in changing university admission policies. Nevertheless, all SUS leaders "informed their staffs to stop using race, national origin, and sex as considerations during the admissions process" (Florida Board of Regents, 2000). Administrative Law Judge Charles Adams later struck down the administrative challenge, and in July 2000 the Talented 20 policy officially went into immediate effect without time or resources to devise any implementation strategy.

The Mechanics of the Texas, California, and Florida Percent Plans

The percent plans in Texas, California, and Florida are complex. This section lays out, in detail, the scope, requirements, and guarantees of each. The Texas 10 percent plan automatically admits all public and private high school students graduating in the top 10 percent of their class to the public university of choice (Table 1). Students eligible under the 10 percent plan can choose to attend either flagship institution - UT Austin or Texas A&M - or any of the other 33 public universities in the state. In order to determine who qualifies under the 10 percent plan, the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board has established a policy by which students are classified. Using whichever is most recent at the time of application (coursework completed at the end of the 11th grade, middle of the 12th grade, or high school graduation), student rank is calculated by the district or school from which (s)he graduated or is expected to graduate. Currently, students are required to complete courses designated as "minimum graduation criteria," although recently passed legislation will raise the requirements to courses defined by the "recommended" high school diploma program beginning with students entering the 9th grade in 2004-2005. Calculated rank is reported as a number out of total class size (Texas Administrative Code, 1997). Although they are not considered in the admissions process, applicants are required to submit standardized test scores (i.e., SAT I or ACT). Students admitted under the 10 percent plan are also required to take and pass the state's reading, writing, and math Texas Academic Skills Program (TASP) in order to ultimately register for junior or senior level work.[22] If students choose to attend UT Austin or Texas A&M, they are not necessarily guaranteed the major of their choice.[23]

Unlike the Texas plan, California's ELC program guarantees admission to the top 4 percent of each comprehensive public[24] or private high school's graduating class to one

[22] A student may be exempt from taking the TASP test if (s)he meets one or more of the following criteria: an ACT composite score of 23, with a minimum of 19 on both the English and math tests; a combined verbal and math SAT score of 1070, with a minimum of 500 on both the verbal and math tests; 1770 on the TAAS writing test; an 86 on the Texas Learning Index on the math test; and an 89 on the Texas Learning Index on the reading test; enrollment in a certificate program of 42 semester credit hours or less at a public community college or technical college (Texas Academic Skills Program, 2000).

[23] Although students generally get the major they select, more competitive schools (e.g., Engineering, Architecture) fill up quickly (University of Texas at Austin, n.d.a). Texas A&M Century scholars, however, are guaranteed admission to the major of their choice (Texas A&M University, n.d.). These award recipients are eligible 10 percent students who have attended one of a designated group of urban high schools in Houston and Dallas.

[24] Students attending Continuation Program and Alternative Education high schools are not eligible to participate in ELC. This is important to note given that, while 935 of California's public high schools were

of the UC system's eight campuses, but not necessarily into the university of one's choice. To be considered for eligibility, a student must complete 11 specific units of the UC system's high school course requirements (referred to as "a-g" requirements) by the end of his/her junior year.[25] Any additional "a-g" courses a student has taken in 10th or 11th grade beyond those required will also be used in GPA calculations (University of California Office of the President, 2002). In order to ensure that the "correct" top 4 percent are identified, UC asks participating high schools at the end of the year to identify roughly the top 10 percent of juniors expected to graduate the following year and garner parental permission to submit students' transcripts. Once acquired, the UC system administrators take the received information and determine the top 4 percent of students based on GPA for UC-approved coursework completed in 10th and 11th grades (but not in 9th grade). To be considered ELC (as well as to be considered eligible in the statewide context), a student must have a minimum GPA of 2.8 in the required "a-g" courses.

UC notifies students of their ELC status at the beginning of their senior year and provides them with an ELC identification number to be used in their admission applications. Qualified students must submit an undergraduate application and complete the remaining system eligibility requirements to remain ELC eligible: 4 additional units of designated "a-g" high school coursework, the SAT I or the ACT, and 3 SAT II subject tests (University of California, 2002a). Although these additional requirements are not considered for admission to the UC system under ELC, they are presumably taken into account by the individual institutions as they make their admission choices. For example, Berkeley considers the following when making admission decisions: weighted and unweighted high school GPA (which may be different from the calculated ELC GPA), the depth and breadth of academic preparation, including quality of the senior year program, scores on required standardized tests, achievement in academic enrichment programs, other evidence of intellectual or creative achievement, extracurricular accomplishment, personal qualities such as leadership or motivation, and likely contribution to the intellectual and cultural vitality of the campus (University of California Office of the President, 2002b). Because an ELC student is not guaranteed a slot in a particular institution, all the traditional admission considerations of the

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considered "comprehensive" in 2000/2001, 523 were classified "Continuation" and 235 "Alternative" (California Department of Education, 2002). Continuation programs are targeted at 16 to 18 year old students as a " high school diploma option with an emphasis on career or work-study schedule." There is not a reporting requirement for these schools, but offering the "a-g" courses is an eligibility criteria for all Model Continuation High Schools, of which there are 81 schools (California Department of Education, n.d).

[25] The complete list of the 15 courses on the "a-g" list include: (a) two years of history/social science, including one year of U.S. history or one-half year of U.S. history and one-half year of civics or American government, and one year of world history, cultures and geography; (b) 4 years of college preparatory English; (c) 3 years of math including advanced algebra and geometry; (d) 2 years of lab science in at least two of the three – biology, chemistry, and physics; (e) 2 years of a language other than English; (f) 1 year of a visual or performing art; and (g) 1 year of a college preparatory elective. In order to be ELC eligible, a student's completed coursework by the end of the junior year must include: 1 year of history/social science; 3 years of English; 3 years of math; 1 year of lab science; and 1 year of a language other than English. Schools must have a course list on file with the UC documenting that they offer the specified classes necessary under the "a-g" list for system eligibility (University of California Office of the President, 2002).

individual institutions remain in place for the ELC applicant. The UC System, however, has stated that, "every UC campus has decided to give a positive consideration to ELC students in their selection processes" (University of California Office of the President, 2002). For ELC students who are not admitted to one of the campuses of their choice, the UC system will automatically refer them to a "campus that can accommodate additional students" (University of California Office of the President, 2002).[26]

In an extension of the 4 percent plan, the UC Board of Regents has approved a Dual Admissions program granting *provisional* admission to the UC system to those students who fall between the top 4th and 12.5th percent of their high school graduating class but lack the GPA and standardized test scores to be eligible for traditional admission. This plan requires that the first two years of approved coursework be completed at a community college and that the student maintain a GPA of at least 2.4 at that community college (Selingo, 2001b). The Dual Admissions program will take effect for the entering freshman class of 2003.

Florida's Talented 20 Program is an additional means for public high school students to gain admission into the SUS. It was added to the existing Board of Regents' admissions policy, which states that students are eligible for admission into the SUS with (1) a "B" average in 19 required school academic units (same 19 required for admission under the Talented 20 policy) or (2) a combination of high school GPA and admission test scores on a sliding scale if their GPA is less than a "B" average. Although all students who meet these existing minimum criteria are "SUS eligible," only public high school students who complete the required 19 credits and are classified in the top 20 percent of their graduating class, as individually determined by districts, are "guaranteed" admission into the SUS. As is the case in California, Talented 20 only guarantees admission to the system, not necessarily to the school of choice. Thus, "SUS-eligible" students must then compete for admission to particular institutions, which sometimes have additional criteria and performance standards.

In sum, there are several important differences in the percent plans in Texas, California, and Florida. First, which students are eligible in the broadest sense varies and is changing even as the plans are being implemented. Public and private students in Texas and California may be eligible under these states' plans; only public school students in Florida have the same opportunity. Whereas currently, percent-plan-eligible students in Texas have to graduate only with the minimum required credits, soon they will have to meet more strenuous high school coursework requirements to benefit from the 10 percent plan. These plans do not all make similar guarantees to eligible students; California and Florida just promise access to the state university system. Only Texas promises access to the premier institutions, which, similar to Florida, are the only places where race-conscious admission is a salient factor. Finally, the method and data by which eligibility is determined differs. In Texas and Florida, individual districts calculate senior GPA

[26] The UC system is currently struggling with a capacity dilemma. Projections estimate that, by 2010, the gap between the system's enrollment demands and its capacity may be as large as 20,000 full-time-equivalent undergraduate and graduate students (University of California, 1999).

based on all or a particular subset of coursework completed by a designated time. California, however, requires districts, using specified coursework, to identify a larger pool of juniors from which, after parental permission is obtained, the University of California determines the smaller group of senior students eligible in "local context." These and a host of other more subtle differences outlined above represent important caveats. The percent plans in Texas, California, and Florida are not the same in how they are structured and in what they deliver. Any one statement that claims to encompass all percent plans is simply inaccurate.

Table 1: Percent Plans in Texas, California, and Florida

	Texas	California	Florida
Who gains automatic admission through the percent plan?	The top 10 percent of graduating students from each public or private high school in Texas	The top 4 percent of graduating students from each comprehensive public high school or private high school accredited by the Western Association of Schools and Colleges in California	The top 20 percent of graduating students from each public high school in Florida
What criteria must 'percent plan' candidates meet?	Currently, there are no specific course requirements that a student must meet beyond those defined by the "minimum graduation criteria" to be percent plan eligible. Legislation has been passed, however, that will require all eligible students to obtain a Recommended High School Diploma beginning with students entering the 9th grade in 2004-2005 (House Bill 1144).[27] Additionally, students must submit SAT or ACT scores and an application during the appropriate filing period.	11 units of specified high school coursework must be completed by the end of the junior year, including: • 1 unit of history/social science • 3 units of college preparatory English • 3 units of math • 1 unit of lab science • 1 unit of language other than English • 2 units of other "a-g" required credits Additionally, qualified students must submit an undergraduate application during the appropriate filing period and complete the remaining eligibility requirements to enroll: 4 additional units of coursework; SAT I or the ACT; and 3 SAT II tests.	Completion of 19 college preparatory courses, including: • 4 units of English • 3 units of math • 3 units of natural science • 3 units of social science • 2 units of foreign language • 4 additional academic electives from the above 5 subject areas Additionally, students must submit SAT or ACT scores and an application during the appropriate filing period.
How is class rank calculated?	The Texas school or school district from which the student graduated or is expected to graduate calculates the rank based on standing at the end of the 11th grade, middle of the 12th grade, or at high school graduation, whichever is most recent at the application deadline.	Participating schools must submit students' transcripts; the UC system administrators then determine the top 4 percent of students based on GPA for UC-approved coursework completed in 10th and 11th grades. UC notifies students of their ELC status at the beginning of their senior year.	Each secondary school district determines how class rank will be calculated.
To what does the automatic admissions policy gain you admissions?	The public Texas university of your choice	A UC system campus, although not necessarily the one of your choice	An SUS institution, although not necessarily the one of your choice

Sources: Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board (www.thecb.state.tx.us); University of California Office of the President (www.ucop.edu); One Florida Initiative (http://www.oneflorida.org/).

[27] The Minimum Graduation Plan currently required to be eligible under the 10 percent plan includes 4 credits of English; 3 credits of math, including algebra; 2 credits of science; 2 ½ credits of social studies; ½ credit of economics; 1 credit of an academic elective; 1 ½ credits of physical education; ½ credit of health education; ½ credit of speech; 1 credit of technology applications; and 5 ½ credits of electives. The

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The States and Their Students

In order to understand the effectiveness of the percent plans in Texas, California, and Florida at maintaining diversity on the states' premier campuses, it is important to first place their impact in the larger context of state demographics, as well as high school completion and dropout rates. These data are important for several reasons. First, in themselves, they highlight the ways in which the K-12 system is serving the various racial/ethnic communities in preparing students for college eligibility relative to their presence in the population. Second, they also speak to the pool of students eligible to take advantage of these states' percent plans. Because students must successfully navigate the K-12 system in order to take advantage of the higher education system, the demographics of the high school graduating class will directly impact the demographics of eligible students. In particular, the dynamic growth of non-white students relative to their white counterparts (as discussed in the following) suggests that proportionate access over time must be assessed against a changing universe of students.

State and School-Age Demographics[28]

Texas, California, and Florida all have populations that continue to become increasingly racially diverse. In Texas, Latinos currently make up roughly 32 percent of the population, an increase of 4 percentage points from 1995 (Figure 1).[29] Their presence in the population is estimated to rise to 38 percent by 2025. In this same time period, white presence is estimated to decline by about 12 percentage points to 46 percent. In California, the 2000 Census data already indicate that whites no longer comprise a majority of the population. Over the next several years, Asian and Latino populations are projected to grow at the fastest rate, reaching an estimated presence of 18 and 43 percent, respectively, of the total 2025 California population. Relative to the other two, Florida currently has the smallest percentage of its population made up of Latinos (17 percent) but the largest percentage made up of African Americans (15 percent). By 2025, the percentage of African Americans is estimated to rise to 17 percent, and Latino representation in the state is projected to be 24 percent of the total population. For all three states, the key finding is the same: the total population is steadily becoming less white and more Hispanic, black, and Asian. Relative to assessing racial diversity on

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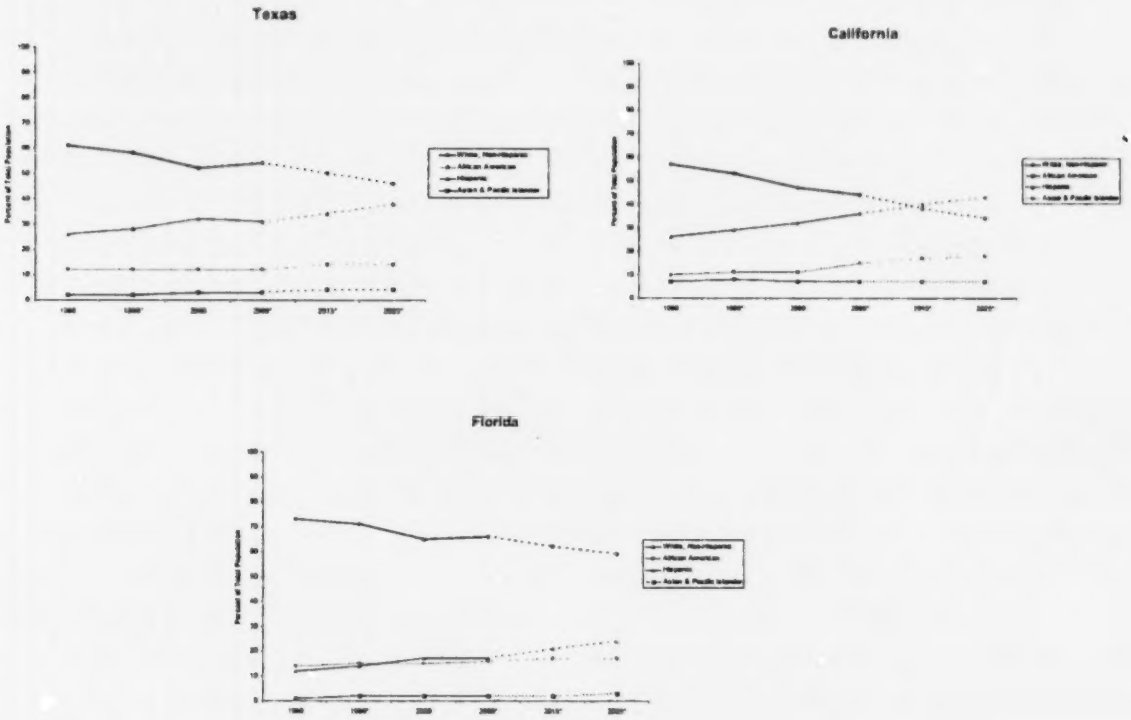
'Recommended Graduation Plan,' which will be required to be eligible under the 10 percent plan beginning the Fall 2008 includes: 4 credits English; 3 credits math including geometry; 3 credits science; 3 and ½ credits social studies; ½ credit economics; 1 and ½ credits physical education; ½ credit health education; 2 credits language other than English; 1 credit fine arts; ½ credit speech; 1 credit technology applications; and 3 academic elective credits (Texas Education Agency, n.d.).

[28] For a full treatment of the implications on higher education of the changing demographics of Texas, see: Tienda et al.'s (2003) study.

[29] In this paper, the terms African American and black are used interchangeably throughout to refer to persons of African decent. The term Asian is used to represent persons descending from Southeast Asia, the Far East, or the Indian subcontinent. The terms Latino and Hispanic are used interchangeably to represent persons of Latin American or Spanish decent. Because of the quantitative nature of the study and a desire to accurately portray proportional changes, the authors of this paper have omitted Native Americans from the tables and from discussion. However, it is done with the understanding that this population merits further close, more qualitative educational analysis.

selective college campuses, this trend suggests that maintaining the same proportionate level of access achieved during the race-conscious affirmative action era is not a stable standard.

Figure 1: Racial/Ethnic Demographics for Texas, California, and Florida, 1990-2025[30]



In the past decade, the 15- to 19-year old population in Texas, California, and Florida has become more racially diverse than even the states' population as a whole (Table 2), largely due to the changing white and Hispanic demographic. Whereas the proportion of 15- to 19-year old whites in 1990 exceeded that of blacks and Hispanics in Texas, this is no longer the case in 2000. This reflects of the substantial decrease in representation

[30] Note: Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding error and the exclusion of American Indian and "other." *Indicate estimates. Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 1990 Redistricting Data (P.L. 94-171) Summary File for states and Census 1990 Redistricting Summary File for Puerto Rico, Tables PL1 and PL2. U.S. Census Bureau, Census 2000 Redistricting Data (P.L. 94-171) Summary File for states and Census 2000 Redistricting Summary File for Puerto Rico, Tables PL1 and PL2; Census estimates from Projected State Populations, by Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 1995-2025, http://www.census.gov/population/projections/state/stpjrace.txt and http://www.census.gov/population/projections/state/stpjpop.txt.

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among whites (7 percentage points) coupled with a noticeable increase for Hispanics (6 percentage points). In California, the percent of Hispanic 15-to 19-year olds has increased over the last 10 years to exceed that of whites by 5 percentage points. Florida's 15 to 19 year old population also saw a shift from 63 percent white and 15 percent Hispanic in 1990 to 55 and 20 percent, respectively, in 2000. In short, the 15- to 19-year old population in these three states is even more diverse than the increasingly multiracial total population.

Table 2: Racial/Ethnic Demographics in Texas, California, and Florida for the 15-19 Year Old Population, 1990 and 2000

	1990	2000
Texas		
White (%)	51	44
Black (%)	14	13
Hispanic (%)	33	39
Asian (%)	2	3
California		
White (%)	44	34
Black (%)	8	7
Hispanic (%)	35	39
Asian (%)	11	11
Florida		
White (%)	63	55
Black (%)	20	21
Hispanic (%)	15	20
Asian (%)	2	2

Note: Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding error and the exclusion of American Indian and "other".
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Census 1990 and 2000.

High School Racial Composition, Completion, and College Continuation

Students in Texas, California, and Florida are being educated in racially isolated schools, as indicated by several measures.[31] Table 3 uses the exposure index - the percentage of a particular group present in the school of the average student in another group - to show the percentage of whites in the school of the average black and Hispanic student in 1980 and 2000. On average, whites in Texas, California, and Florida are in schools comprised of 66, 58, and 69 percent whites, respectively, making them the most isolated racial/ethnic group. The average Latino student in Texas went from a school made up of 35 percent whites in 1980 to a school made up of 23 percent whites in 2000. Similarly, in California, the average Latino in 1980 was in a school where 36 percent of the students were white. By 2000, that percentage had dropped to 21. In 2000, the average African American high school student in Florida is in a school composed of 35 percent whites, which represents a substantial decline from 1980. In Texas, California, and Florida,

[31] For a full discussion of segregation trends in the United States, see: Frankenberg, Lee, Orfield, (2003).

black and Latino students are increasingly, on average, attending racially isolated schools.

Table 3: Percentage of White Students in Schools Attended by the Average Black and Hispanic Student, Fall 1980 and 2000 (Exposure Index)

	Average Black Student	Average Hispanic Student
Texas		
1980	35	35
2000	29	23
California		
1980	28	36
2000	23	21
Florida		
1980	51	35
2000	35	33

Note: Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding error and the exclusion of American Indian and Other races.
Source: National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) Common Core of Data 2000-2001.

While it is true that, all else being equal given the demographic changes, the decline in white proportion and simultaneous increase in Latino numbers will result in less exposure to whites for all racial groups, minority groups are still highly isolated from their white peers. This is shown by the percentage of students in schools with 90 to 100 percent minority enrollment. In Texas, almost half of all Latino and more than one-third third of all black public school students attend a school of 90 percent minority students; the same is true for 44 percent of Latino and 37 percent of black public school students in California (Table 4). Thirty-one percent of African American students in Florida are in 90-100 percent minority schools; 30 percent of Latinos in the state are similarly situated. Together with the data in Table 3, these data suggest that students in all three states are being educated in racially isolated schools.

Table 4: Percentage of Black and Hispanic Students in 90-100% Minority Schools in Texas, California, and Florida, Fall 2000

	Percent of Blacks in 90-100% Minority Schools	Percent of Hispanics in 90-100% Minority Schools
Texas	37	47
California	37	44
Florida	31	30

Note: Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding error and the exclusion of American Indian and Other races.
Source: National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) Common Core of Data 2000-2001.

How well do the high school graduating classes in Texas, California, and Florida represent the state's adolescent population? In Texas, the racial demographics of the graduating class do not mirror the state's 15- to 19-year old population. In the most

recent year data were available, for example, the spring 2001 high school graduating class was 13 percent African American, 32 percent Latino, 51 percent white, and 3 percent Asian American (Table 5). Among 15- to 19-year olds in 2000, the state's population was 44 percent white, 13 percent African American, 39 percent Hispanic and 3 percent Asian. In California, whites and Asians were overrepresented in the 2001 graduating class relative to California's 15- to 19-year-old population. Conversely, Latinos were underrepresented, comprising 33 percent of the graduating class of 2001 but 39 percent of the 15 to 19 year old population. Florida's spring 2001 graduates were 59 percent white, 20 percent African American, and 17 percent Latino. Relative to the population, Hispanics were underrepresented and whites overrepresented. In all three states, the graduating class does not reflect that of the states' 15- to 19-year olds.

Table 5: High School Graduating Classes in Texas, California, and Florida, by Race/Ethnicity, Spring 1996-2001

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Texas						
White (%)	55	54	53	53	52	51
Black (%)	12	13	13	13	13	13
Hispanic (%)	29	30	31	31	32	32
Asian (%)	3	3	3	3	3	3
Total (N)	171,983	181,840	197,186	203,393	212,925	215,316
California						
White (%)	47	46	45	45	44	44
Black (%)	8	8	8	7	7	7
Hispanic (%)	30	31	31	32	33	33
Asian (%)	14	15	15	15	15	15
Total (N)	259,071	269,071	282,897	299,221	309,866	316,124
Florida[+]						
White (%)						59
Black (%)						20
Hispanic (%)						17
Asian (%)						3
Total (N)						113,836

[+] The only year for which data are available. Note: Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding error and the exclusion of American Indian and "other." Sources: Texas Education Agency at http://www.tea.state.tx.us/adhocrpt and http://www.tea.state.tx.us/perfreport/snapshot/; California Department of Education at www.cde.ca.gov/demographics/REPORTS/ and http://www.cde.ca.gov/demographics/reports/statewide/ethgrate.htm; and the Florida Bureau of Education Information and Accountability Services at http://www.firn.edu/doe/eias/eiaspubs/stddip.htm.

In addition to racial composition of the graduating class, it is also important to understand how many students who start 9th grade are graduating four years later. High school completion rates are presented in Table 6, calculated as the ratio of public high school graduates (regular and other diplomas, not GEDs or certificates) to the 9th grade enrollment four years earlier (Mortenson, 2002). While they do not reflect certain obvious changes in enrollment necessarily directly related to dropping out before high school completion (e.g., inter-state mobility, retention in one or more grades), the

percentages for each state do grossly describe the attrition of a ninth grade cohort over four years.[32] Florida had a high school completion rate of 59 percent in 1994, ranking it 48th among the states (see Appendix A). Similarly, Texas ranked 46th with 60 percent completing high school by 1994 when compared to 9th graders four years previously. With a 66 percent completion rate, California was 39th among states. In 2000, all three states had improved slightly in the rankings among states; California had moved to 32nd Texas 38th, and Florida 44th (with 67, 62, and 55 percent of 9th graders, respectively, graduating 4 years later). Despite these gains, however, all three remain near the bottom, nationally, of high school completion rates computed in this way.

Furthermore, the completion rates differ strongly by race in Texas, California, and Florida. In Texas in 2000, while nearly three fourths of the whites received a high school diploma when compared to freshman enrollment four years earlier (Table 6), only roughly half of African American and Latino students had met the same goal. The rates were higher in California, where 78 percent of whites, 58 percent of blacks, and 57 percent of Latinos received diplomas when compared to the 9th grade enrollment four years earlier. Florida had the lowest rate of completion for African Americans among the three states at only 45 percent. In Texas and California, improvements in completion rates were seen from 1996 to 2000 across all racial groups. Florida, however, saw decreases across all groups.

Table 6: High School Completion Rates for Texas, California, and Florida, By Race, Spring 1996 and Spring 2000

	1996	2000
Texas		
White (%)	70	72
Black (%)	47	54
Hispanic (%)	47	51
Asian (%)	86	89
California		
White (%)	72	78
Black (%)	54	58
Hispanic (%)	54	57
Asian (%)	87	85
Florida		
White (%)	61	60
Black (%)	51	45
Hispanic (%)	63	52
Asian (%)	93	86

Source: National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data, 1992 through 2000.

Because the University of California system requires students to meet certain requirements to be considered eligible to apply to the system, it is also important to look at the makeup of the students who graduate meeting these criteria. As can be seen in Table 7, roughly one-third of all students who graduate from California high schools are

[32] Since each of these states has a strong net in migration, these figures may understate dropout rates (cite).

UC system eligible in terms of courses. These criteria do not ensure admission but they are prerequisites. Of the African American and Latino graduates, roughly one-fourth take all the courses required by the UC system. About 40 percent of the white graduates meet the same criteria. More than 50 percent of Asian Americans graduates take all the required courses. The percentage of white and Asian American high school graduates who were UC-system eligible rose from spring 1993 to spring 1997 and has remained fairly constant since then. African American trends have remained more or less stagnant over the 8-year period. In 1998, Hispanics saw their largest percentage (24 percent) of graduates who had also completed UC required courses; the remaining years the percentage stayed between 22 and 23. Again, it is important to consider these trends in the context of the changing demographics of the state. As indicated above in Table 2, in 1990 Latinos and Blacks made up 35 and 8 percent, respectively, of the California 15- to 19-year-old population. By 2000, those percentages had shifted to 39 and 7 percent, respectively.

Table 7: Percentage of California High School Graduates Who Have Completed Required UC System Courses, by Race/Ethnicity, Spring 1993-2001

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
Whites (%)	36	35	39	40	40	41	41	40	41
Blacks (%)	28	27	29	27	29	28	26	25	26
Hispanics (%)	21	21	23	22	23	24	22	22	23
Asians (%)	51	48	51	53	55	55	55	54	54
All Students (%)	33	32	35	35	36	37	36	35	36

Source: California Department of Education, http://data1.cde.ca.gov/dataquest/.

Similarly to California, Florida has a set of 19 credits recommended for admission consideration into the State University System (One Florida, n.d.). The spring 1999 high school completers provide a snapshot of how the percentages of graduates meeting this goal compare by race (Table 7B). Whereas 66 percent of white graduates had completed the 19 credits, only 43 percent of black and 41 percent of Hispanic students had reached the same marker, once again reflecting the discrepancies among racial/ethnic groups.

Table 7B: Percent of Florida Spring 1999 High School Completers with Recommended 19 Academic Credits, by Race/Ethnicity

	Percent
White	66
Black	43
Hispanic	41
Asian	75
Total	58

Source: Florida Board of Education, Division of Colleges & Universities, Office of Planning, Budgeting and Policy Analysis.

Finally, college enrollment rates[33] affect the pool of college going students eligible to benefit from the percent plans in each of these states. Calculations by Mortenson (2002) made using data from the Common Core of Data (CCD) and the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) suggest that Texas, California, and Florida each have low levels of college continuation rates relative to the rest of the country. In 1994, for example, Florida ranked 45th among states, with 49 percent of its high school graduates continuing to college. In the same year, Texas and California were ranked 39th and 12th, respectively. In 2000, California had fallen to 44th among states (with the college-going rate dropping from 61 percent in 1994 to 48 percent); Texas was 38th and Florida 28th. (See Appendix B for full list.) These low college-going rates, coupled with the other contextual factors discussed, are important considerations when assessing the actual effectiveness of the percent plans in Texas, California, and Florida. They suggest that these states had low levels of minority access to higher education even before losing affirmative action.

In sum, these descriptive data paint a picture of three states with quickly rising shares of non-whites among the 15- to 19-year old population, especially, but without similarly rising shares among the high school graduating classes. Further, each of these states has a low overall rate of high school completion, relative to the others in the country, and a state-level high school graduating class that is not reflective of the racial/ethnic population it is serving. Finally, in California specifically, African American and Latino students are graduating having completed the required UC courses at a rate lower than their white and, especially, Asian peers. Given this backdrop, we now turn to data related specifically to trends in application, admission, and enrollment at public institutions in Texas, California, and Florida.

Applications

The selection of an enrolled student body begins with the pool of applicants. The Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board began collecting system-wide applicant and admissions data in 1998. Although individual institutions may have collected similar data over a longer period, this paper uses the Coordinating Board's data for several reasons, including the uniformity of data collection over time and the more accurate representation of system-wide trends. Additionally, the Coordinating Board's numbers are unduplicated, therefore making them more reflective of patterns. Texas' system-wide application trends show that while whites' percentages fluctuated some, their representation in the total applicant pool has trended down since 1998 to 53% in 2001 (Table 8). African American proportions have risen substantially, going from 11.9 percent of the total applicant pool in 1998 to 15.1 percent in 2001. Both Hispanics and Asian Americans have remained fairly consistent, hovering at about 21 and 6 percent, respectively. It is important to keep in mind, however, that in 2000, only 44 percent of the 15- to 19-year old population was white, 39 percent was Hispanic, 13 percent was African American, and 3 percent was Asian (Table 2). This suggests that whites and

[33] In this section, the term *college enrollment rate* is the ratio of fall college freshmen that have graduated from high school during the previous 12 months by the state of residence to the number of public and private high school graduates of the state (Mortenson, 2002).

Asians continue to be overrepresented in the first-time applicant pool in Texas relative to their proportion of the state's population. The reverse is true for Hispanics.

Table 8: Texas System-Wide Summer/Fall Freshman Applications, by Race/Ethnicity, 1998-2001

	1998	1999	2000	2001
White (%)	57.7	54.4	55.1	53.0
Black (%)	11.9	13.3	13.4	15.1
Hispanic (%)	21.3	22.8	21.1	21.4
Asian (%)	6.1	6.0	6.1	6.1
Unknown (%)	0.5	0.6	0.8	0.6
Total (N)	77,751	83,388	88,170	94,058

Note: Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding error and the exclusion of American Indian and "other."

Sources: Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board at Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board. Undergraduate Applications, Offers, and Enrollments, Applicant Disposition Information, Summer/Fall 1998-2001 (http://www.thecb.state.tx.us/DataAndStatistics/) and (http://www.thecb.state.tx.us/ane/).

Since 1995, whites in California have been a relatively consistent proportion of the total applicant pool (roughly 40 percent), with the exception of 1998, where their representation dropped substantially (Table 9). This may be explained in part, however, by the concomitant increase in individuals who declined to provide racial/ethnic information.[34] Asian Americans have consistently been about one-third of the total number of applicants. Black representation among applications has declined slightly from 1995 to 2001 (about 1 percentage point). From 1995 until 1999, the share of Hispanic freshman applicants declined by 2.1 percentage points. In 2000 and 2001, however, those proportions rose, with Hispanics reaching 15.5 percent of the total applicant pool in 2001. However, compared to the racial composition of 15 to 19 year-olds in the state (see Table 2) and to those eligible to apply to the UC system under coursework requirements (Table 4), the racial composition of the applicant pool suggests that whites and Asians continue to be overrepresented and blacks and Hispanics underrepresented in the first time applicant pool in California relative to the state population.

[34] In the years leading up to 1998, the percentage of total applicants who did not identify a racial ethnic group hovered at 4 percent. In 1998 that proportion shot up to 14.4 percent, and, while substantially lower than its peak, remains at about 7 percent of the applications. A similar pattern is seen throughout all data presented on the University of California and its premier institutions. Needless to say, lack of full data dissagregated by race is a serious problem for assessing changes. The decline shown here and in subsequent tables may have been motivated by the enactment of Proposition 209 prohibiting race-conscious affirmative action. California will vote on a referendum forbidding any collection of racial data, unless federally required, in 2004.

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Table 9: University of California System-Wide Fall State Resident Freshman Applications, by Race/Ethnicity, 1995-2001

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
White (%)	40.3	40.7	42.6	34.7	40.0	38.6	38.0
Black (%)	5.0	4.7	4.4	4.1	4.1	4.2	4.3
Hispanic (%)	16.0	14.8	14.1	13.9	13.9	14.6	15.5
Asian (%)	31.4	31.9	32.7	30.4	32.3	32.3	32.1
Unknown (%)	4.0	4.7	3.5	14.4	7.0	7.4	7.5
Total (N)	45,714	48,585	49,030	52,301	55,402	56,310	59,747

Note: Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding error and the exclusion of American Indian and "other."
Source: UC Office of the President, Student Academic Services, OA&SA, REG004/006, January, 2002, http://www.ucop.edu/news/studstaff.html.

Although their proportion of the pool has decreased over time, whites still constitute the majority of applications to the Florida State University System (Table 10). From 1998 to 2001, the proportion of applicants who were Hispanic rose almost 2 percentage points while black and Asian proportions remained essentially unchanged. Applicants in Florida fairly closely represent the population of 15- to 19-year olds, which was 55 percent white, 21 percent African American, and 20 percent Hispanic in 2000.

Table 10: Florida System-Wide Summer/Fall Freshman Applications, by Race/Ethnicity, 1998-2001

	1998	1999	2000	2001
White (%)	57.3	55.1	55.0	52.9
Black (%)	19.6	19.8	19.6	19.7
Hispanic (%)	12.5	13.5	13.1	14.3
Asian (%)	4.1	4.1	4.5	4.4
Unknown (%)	1.3	1.7	2.0	2.6
Total (N)	58,031	66,540	72,743	73,788

Note: Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding error and the exclusion of American Indians and "other."
Source: Florida Board of Education, Division of Colleges and Universities, Office of Planning, Budgeting and Policy Analysis, http://www.fldcu.org/.

Applications to the Premier Institutions

Table 11 presents application data for Texas's two flagship institutions, UT Austin and Texas A&M. Whites constitute the largest group of applicants, ranging from a high of 65 percent in 1998 to 60 percent in 2001. Over the four-year period for which data are available, African American applications to UT Austin increased from 3.9 percent of the pool in 1998 to 4.4 percent in 2001. Hispanic representation in the applicant pool has also increased slightly. In 1998 Hispanics comprised 14.4 percent of the pool; by 2001 that proportion had risen to 15.7 percent. Until 2001 when their share of total rose to 17.1, Asian American applications had remained fairly constant at about 15.5 percent.

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At Texas A&M, the percentage of white applicants declined from 76 in 1998 to 74 in 2001. Again, as in the case of UT Austin, the greatest increases in minority applicants were among the Hispanics and Asians, averaging 1.2 percentage points each over the four-year period (Table 11). As in the case of UT Austin, whites were overrepresented in the applicant pool: for every Latino applicant, there were 6 white applicants and for every black applicant, there were 19 white applicants.

Table 11: UT Austin and Texas A&M Summer/Fall Freshman Applications, by Race/Ethnicity, 1998-2001

	1998	1999	2000	2001
UT Austin				
White (%)	64.8	63.2	63.9	60.2
Black (%)	3.9	5.1	5.1	4.4
Hispanic (%)	14.4	15.3	14.8	15.7
Asian (%)	15.7	15.6	15.3	17.1
Unknown (%)	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.6
Total (N)	14,144	15,223	17,353	16,113
Texas A&M				
White (%)	76.1	75.8	74.7	73.8
Black (%)	3.8	3.9	3.2	3.8
Hispanic (%)	10.5	10.5	11.3	11.7
Asian (%)	5.3	6.0	6.1	6.4
Unknown (%)	1.7	1.6	2.5	1.3
Total (N)	12,908	14,456	16,776	16,684

Note: Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding error and the exclusion of American Indian and "other."

Sources: Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board at Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board. Undergraduate Applications, Offers, and Enrollments, Applicant Disposition Information, Summer/Fall 1998-2001 (http://www.thecb.state.tx.us/DataAndStatistics/) and (http://www.thecb.state.tx.us/ane/).

In California, Berkeley and UCLA are the state's premier institutions. Among the applications to UC Berkeley, disaggregated by race/ethnicity, the largest change has been in the percentage of students not identifying a race/ethnicity. Reaching a peak in 1998 (14.7 percent), the proportion of total applicants not indicating race/ethnicity has declined, but it has not changed substantially since then (Table 12). Moreover, this change suggests that other trends in applicant behavior by race/ethnicity should be interpreted cautiously (see footnote 35). The percentage of black and Hispanic declined modestly 1995 to 2001.

At UCLA, a similar spike in the percentage of applicants who did not indicate race occurred in 1998. White and Asian American representation among applicants trended slightly upward from 1995 to 1997, but by 2001 it was essentially back to where it had begun over this seven-year period. The proportion of applicants who were African American declined over time from a high of 6.0 percent in 1995 to 4.4 percent in 2001 (Table 12). Hispanics saw a slow decline from 1995 to 1999, and only increased since 2000. Again, as in the case of UC Berkeley, whites and Asians are overrepresented while blacks and Latinos are underrepresented relative to the 15 to 19 year old population.

Table 12: UC Berkeley and UCLA Fall State Resident Freshman Applications, by Race/Ethnicity, 1995-2001

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
UC Berkeley							
White (%)	33.7	34.0	35.2	29.2	34.4	32.3	31.5
Black (%)	5.8	5.3	4.9	4.8	4.2	4.6	4.6
Hispanic (%)	13.4	12.4	12.2	12.2	10.5	12.3	13.1
Asian (%)	39.4	39.7	40.9	37.1	40.2	39.9	40.0
Unknown (%)	4.7	5.6	4.3	14.7	8.3	8.3	8.1
Total (N)	19,458	21,678	22,485	24,447	24,865	26,141	28,145
UCLA							
White (%)	31.5	32.1	34.0	28.9	33.9	32.2	31.8
Black (%)	6.0	5.6	4.9	4.3	4.2	4.6	4.4
Hispanic (%)	16.1	14.7	13.9	13.6	13.1	14.2	15.3
Asian (%)	39.5	40.1	41.3	37.2	39.0	39.0	38.4
Unknown (%)	4.0	4.6	3.5	13.7	7.1	7.4	7.5
Total (N)	23,002	25,763	25,984	29,067	30,962	32,262	34,422

Note: Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding error and the exclusion of American Indian and "other."

Source: UC Office of the President, Student Academic Services, OA&SA, REG004/006, January, 2002, http://www.ucop.edu/news/studstaff.html.

Florida's two most selective institutions, the University of Florida and Florida State University, each saw increases in the proportion of applications by blacks and Hispanics. At the University of Florida, blacks went from 8.5 percent of the applicant pool in 1998 to 10.2 percent in 2001 (Table 13). Similarly, Hispanics saw a two-point increase over the same period. The proportion of white applicants at the University of Florida declined over this four-year period. At Florida State University, whites saw the largest proportional drop among applicants (from 69.9 percent in 1998 to 62.4 percent in 2001) and Hispanics the largest proportional increase (from 9.2 percent to 12.8 percent). Yet despite these changes, whites are applying at 5 times the rate of Hispanics. In both premier institutions, however, whites and Asians were overrepresented and blacks and Latinos highly underrepresented relative to the 15- to 19-year old population of the state.

Table 13: University of Florida and Florida State University Summer/Fall Freshman Applications, by Race/Ethnicity, 1998-2001

	1998	1999	2000	2001
University of Florida				
White (%)	69.9	67.2	65.8	65.8
Black (%)	8.5	10.3	10.8	10.2
Hispanic (%)	10.8	12.2	12.1	12.7
Asian (%)	6.2	5.9	6.6	6.6
Unknown (%)	2.0	1.6	1.7	2.2
Total (N)	18,935	20,849	21,034	19,010
Florida State University				
White (%)	69.9	67.8	65.3	62.4
Black (%)	14.9	16.4	16.5	16.1
Hispanic (%)	9.2	10.0	9.8	12.8
Asian (%)	3.1	3.1	3.5	3.8
Unknown (%)	0.0	0.0	2.0	1.7
Total (N)	17,556	20,191	23,102	22,324

Note: Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding error and the exclusion of American Indians and "other."

Source: Florida Board of Education, Division of Colleges and Universities, Office of Planning, Budgeting and Policy Analysis, http://www.fldcu.org/.

Admissions

The total number of state-wide offers of admission made to undergraduates across Texas rose steadily over the years 1998 to 2001, with a substantial jump between 1998 and 1999 (Table 14). Among racial/ethnic groups, blacks saw the largest increase in proportional representation going from 12.3 percent of the admitted students in 1998 to 15.2 percent in 2001. Whites trended downward, from 57.4 percent in 1998 to 53.4 percent in 2001. Hispanic and Asian representation remained essentially stagnant during this period.

Table 14: Texas System-Wide Summer/Fall Freshman Admission Offers, by Race/Ethnicity, 1998-2001

	1998	1999	2000	2001
White (%)	57.4	55.0	55.0	53.4
Black (%)	12.3	12.8	13.2	15.2
Hispanic (%)	22.0	23.2	21.6	21.8
Asian (%)	5.7	6.0	6.2	6.0
Unknown (%)	0.4	0.4	0.8	0.5
Total (N)	67,093	74,844	78,604	83,595

Note: Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding error and the exclusion of American Indian and "other."

Sources: Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board at Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board. Undergraduate Applications, Offers, and Enrollments, Applicant Disposition Information, Summer/Fall 1998-2001 (http://www.thecb.state.tx.us/DataAndStatistics/) and (http://www.thecb.state.tx.us/ane/).

The number of UC system admission offers to freshmen from 1995 to fall 2001 increased steadily and substantially during this period. Black representation among students accepted into the UC system declined slightly over the seven-year period, from 4.4 percent of the total to 3.4 percent (Table 15). Latinos also saw a decline from 16 to 13 percent from 1995 to 1999 but increased in representation among admitted students in fall 2000 and again in fall 2001 to about 15 percent. Asians made up 32 to 33 percent of the total admitted pool. The percentage of admission offers that went to applicants who declined to state their race shot up from 4 percent in 1997 to 14 percent in 1998. Although declining, this percentage still remains high at 8 percent. White representation among admitted students rose slightly from 1995 to 1997 to 42.2 percent, followed by a drop to 35.6 percent (concurrent with the increase in admissions of unknown race/ethnicity just described) and then a leveling off at about 39.3 percent in 2001.

Table 15: University of California System-Wide Fall State Resident Freshman Admission Offers, by Race/Ethnicity, 1995-2001

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
White (%)	40.9	41.2	42.2	35.6	40.7	39.5	39.3
Black (%)	4.4	4.1	3.8	3.2	3.2	3.3	3.4
Hispanic (%)	15.8	14.4	14.2	12.9	13.0	13.8	14.6
Asian (%)	31.5	32.4	33.4	31.6	33.3	33.3	32.7
Unknown (%)	4.2	4.9	3.6	14.4	7.2	7.6	7.6
Total (N)	38,176	40,007	40,427	42,741	45,000	46,521	51,005

Note: Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding error and the exclusion of American Indian and "other."

Source: UC Office of the President, Student Academic Services, OA&SA, REG004/006, January, 2002, http://www.ucop.edu/news/studstaff.html.

In the Florida State University System, the proportion of admission offers received by whites has declined slightly over the years 1998 to 2001. Concurrently, Hispanic representation has risen (from 12.8 percent in 1998 to 14.7 percent in 2001) (Table 16). The percent of admitted students who are black has stayed constant over the four-year period.

Table 16: Florida System-Wide Summer/Fall Freshman Admission Offers, by Race/Ethnicity, 1998-2001

	1998	1999	2000	2001
White (%)	61.4	59.5	59.9	58.1
Black (%)	17.6	17.7	17.2	17.7
Hispanic (%)	12.8	13.9	13.4	14.7
Asian American (%)	4.5	4.5	5.0	4.9
Unknown (%)	0.9	1.3	1.4	1.9
Total (N)	44,468	48,197	52,038	53,396

Note: Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding error and the exclusion of American Indians and "other."

Source: Florida Board of Education, Division of Colleges and Universities, Office of Planning, Budgeting and Policy Analysis, http://www.fldcu.org/.

Admissions to the Premier Institutions

In trying to put into context the impact of the *Hopwood* decision on admissions to the flagship campuses in Texas, it is necessary to have data dating back at least to 1996. The state began to systematically collect applicant and admissions data only in 1998, but information from other data sources provides this basis of comparison. According to data collected by the Office of Institutional Studies at UT Austin (Lavergne & Walker, 2003) the admitted students for summer/fall 1996 were 61 percent white, 5 percent African American, 14 percent Hispanic, and 14 percent Asian.[35] In 1997, the same report shows that 65 percent of the admitted students were white, 3 percent African American, 13 percent Hispanic and 16 percent Asian. In conjunction with the data collected by the state beginning in 1998 (Table 17), white representation among admitted students at UT Austin has remained fairly constant from 1996 to 2001. African Americans returned to proportions similar to pre-*Hopwood* by 2000, but 2001 marked a downturn in that trend. Hispanics represented 14 to 15 percent of the admitted class between 1996 and 2001. Asian Americans saw a slight increase in representation among admitted students during this period.

Although Texas A&M does not make admissions data publicly available, work by Tienda et al. (2003) provides a basis for comparison related to pre- and post-*Hopwood* admissions. According to their recent study, there were, on average, 4.7 percent African Americans, 14.7 percent Latinos, 5.3 percent Asians, and 74.4 percent whites in the admitted classes between 1992 and 1996 (Tienda et al., 2003). At Texas A&M in 1998 (Table 17), the representation of whites among admitted students was 80.5 percent, but by 2001 had declined to 75.8 percent. African American representation among admissions rose from 2.8 percent in 1998 to 3.5 percent in 2001, which still fell short of the average pre-*Hopwood* admissions figure of 4.7 percent. Hispanics have experienced similar trends. Again, it is also important to consider the data for UT Austin and Texas A&M in the context of the state's demographics, in which only 44 percent of the 15- to

[35] It is important to note that there are slight discrepancies in the percentages provided by the UT report and by the Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board reports across similar years. As such, comparisons should be interpreted cautiously.

19-year old population was white, 39 percent Hispanic, 13 percent African American, and 3 percent Asian in 2000 (Table 2).

Table 17: UT Austin and Texas A&M Summer/Fall Freshman Admission Offers, by Race/Ethnicity, 1998-2001

	1998	1999	2000	2001
UT Austin				
White (%)	63.9	63.5	64.0	62.8
Black (%)	4.1	4.7	5.0	3.5
Hispanic (%)	15.4	14.9	14.8	14.7
Asian (%)	15.6	16.1	15.5	17.7
Unknown (%)	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.6
Total (N)	9039	12,986	15,532	12,370
Texas A&M				
White (%)	80.5	78.0	74.8	75.8
Black (%)	2.8	3.4	3.2	3.5
Hispanic (%)	9.5	9.9	11.9	11.6
Asian (%)	3.6	5.5	5.9	5.6
Unknown (%)	1.4	1.5	2.3	1.2
Total (N)	7862	10,754	11,098	11,531

Note: Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding error and the exclusion of American Indian and "other."

Sources: Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board at Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board. Undergraduate Applications, Offers, and Enrollments, Applicant Disposition Information, Summer/Fall 1998-2001 (http://www.thecb.state.tx.us/DataAndStatistics/) and (http://www.thecb.state.tx.us/ane/).

Table 18 presents the admission offers made at Berkeley and UCLA. As was true system-wide, both Berkeley and UCLA saw a substantial drop in the percentage of the 1998 admitted class who were African American and Latino. Concurrently, these flagships saw an increase in white and especially Asian representation in their admitted classes. By 2001, Asians were 39 and 41 percent of the admitted class at Berkeley and UCLA, respectively. As was true of the whole California system, Berkeley and UCLA saw a spike in the percentage of admissions that did not indicate race. Since 1998, Latino representation at both flagships has been slowly increasing, but percentages have not rebounded to pre-Proposition 209 levels, to say nothing of reflecting the rising Hispanic proportions in the age group. At UCLA, African American presence among admitted students fell sharply from 7 percent in 1995 to 3 percent in 1998 and has remained at that level through the most recent available data. A similar pattern was seen at UC Berkeley. By comparison, 34 percent of the 15- to 19-year-old population in California in 2000 was white, 7 percent African American, 39 percent Hispanic, and 11 percent Asian American (Table 2).

Table 18: UC Berkeley and UCLA Fall State Resident Freshman Admission Offers, by Race/Ethnicity, 1995-2001

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
UC Berkeley							
White (%)	33.0	33.6	32.6	32.4	34.9	33.4	32.7
Black (%)	7.3	7.1	7.3	3.2	4.0	4.4	4.1
Hispanic (%)	18.5	16.5	16.8	8.5	9.9	11.6	12.5
Asian (%)	33.1	33.9	35.1	38.1	39.7	38.8	39.0
Unknown (%)	5.0	6.0	5.4	16.1	9.2	9.6	9.4
Total (N)	7771	8055	7425	7305	7332	7637	7949
UCLA							
White (%)	28.6	31.9	33.0	30.9	33.3	33.3	32.2
Black (%)	6.7	6.0	5.1	3.0	3.4	3.3	3.3
Hispanic (%)	20.1	16.9	15.3	10.0	11.0	11.7	12.7
Asian (%)	37.6	37.3	39.6	40.0	41.8	41.1	40.9
Unknown (%)	4.2	5.4	4.7	14.3	8.2	8.5	8.8
Total (N)	9918	10,131	9621	9699	9312	9886	9875

Note: Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding error and the exclusion of American Indian and "other."

Source: UC Office of the President, Student Academic Services, OA&SA, REG004/006, January, 2002, http://www.ucop.edu/news/studstaff.html.

The University of Florida made the majority of its admission offers to whites (Table 19). In 2001, for example, more than two-thirds of the admitted student body was white, compared with 12 percent who were Hispanic, 9 percent who were black and 7 percent who were Asian. Florida State University's admitted population had an even larger percentage of whites, although their proportional representation declined slightly from 1998 to 2001. Proportionally, black representation among admitted students at Florida State University declined over the four-year period, while Hispanic representation rose (from 9.4 percent in 1998 to 13.3 percent in 2001).

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Table 19: University of Florida and Florida State University Summer/Fall Freshman Admission Offers, by Race/Ethnicity, 1998-2001

	1998	1999	2000	2001
University of Florida				
White (%)	69.0	67.5	64.9	67.7
Black (%)	9.8	10.8	12.9	9.4
Hispanic (%)	10.9	12.2	12.1	12.3
Asian (%)	7.3	6.7	7.0	7.4
Unknown (%)	1.5	1.3	1.2	1.8
Total (N)	11,540	12,479	13,006	11,245
Florida State University				
White (%)	73.5	73.0	72.7	69.3
Black (%)	12.4	12.3	11.6	11.2
Hispanic (%)	9.4	10.0	9.7	13.3
Asian (%)	3.5	3.7	3.9	4.1
Unknown (%)	0.0	0.0	1.1	1.2
Total (N)	13,336	13,332	14,529	14,985

Note: Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding error and the exclusion of American Indians and "other."

Source: Florida Board of Education, Division of Colleges and Universities, Office of Planning, Budgeting and Policy Analysis, http://www.fldcu.org/.

Percent Plan Admissions

In interpreting the data presented in this and subsequent sections about percent plan eligible students, it must be made clear that none of the information necessarily reflects students who would not have gotten in otherwise. That is to say, these data should not be interpreted to suggest that students represented in these tables were admitted (or enrolled) only because they were eligible under a particular percent plan. If one simply looks at the share of minority students admitted who are within the top 10 percent in Texas or the top 20 percent in Florida, for example, it is large (see discussion below). While it may seem easy to attribute such admissions solely to percent plan eligibility, in fact, many of these students would have likely qualified for admission without any percent plan in place. The only way to assess the impact of the percent plans themselves is by partitioning out the students admitted or enrolled *only* by virtue of percent plan eligibility and compare that number with the number of students admitted by virtue of other characteristics that would have garnered them admission *despite* any percent plan.

Three recent studies have tried to shed light on this issue. Analyzing admissions and enrollment trends at UT Austin and Texas A&M before and after affirmative action, Tienda and her colleagues found that, pre-*Hopwood,* 52 percent of all those admitted to Texas A&M University were in the top 10 percent of their graduating classes (2003). Post-*Hopwood* the percentage shifted only slightly to 51 percent. Similarly, at UT Austin, 53.6 percent of the post-*Hopwood* admittees were in the top decile rank compared with 53.0 percent before *Hopwood.* Meanwhile, the overall shares of African Americans and Hispanics among the admitted classes at the two universities decreased post-

Hopwood. Together, these findings suggest that any impact the percent plan may have had on racial/ethnic diversity was negligible. A study of Florida's Talented 20 Program found that among students designated as Talented 20 in 2000 and 2001, the overwhelming majority likely did not need the designation in order to gain admissions to a state college or university (Marin & Lee, 2003). Only 150 and 177 Talented 20 students in the 2000 and 2001 entering classes, respectively, had a high school GPA below the required 3.0 minimally necessary for regular system-wide admission consideration. Among students designated as Talented 20, then, less than one percent likely needed the guarantee in order to gain admissions into the state university system. Finally, a University of California simulation study of the potential impact of various automatically admitted percentages was conducted prior to the implementation of ELC (Geiser, 1998). In assessing the mutually exclusive contribution of a 4 percent plan to the eligible pool of students, simulations suggested that between 60 and 65 percent of students in the top 4 percent already met current UC eligibility criteria. The study goes on to suggest that, because the top 4 percent draws only a small number of students (roughly 10,000), such a policy would only yield an additional 3,500 to 4,000 students to the pool eligible for UC (roughly 8 percent of the admitted students if they applied). Given the findings in these studies, the reader should use great caution when attributing changes in admission and enrollment patterns exclusively to the percent plans.

Of the system-wide admissions offers to applicants in Texas, the percent made up by percent plan eligible students increased from 18 percent in 1998 to 22 percent in 2001 (Table 20). That group was 62 percent white in 2001, a decrease of more than 3 percentage points since 1998. Black and Asian representation among admitted percent plan students remained stagnant over the four-year period. Hispanics saw the largest proportional increase from 1998 to 2001, going from 17.8 percent of the admitted percent plan eligible students in 1998 to 20.3 percent in 2001.

Table 20: System-Wide Distribution of 10 Percent Plan Students Admitted Summer/Fall 1998-2001, by Race/Ethnicity

	1998	1999	2000	2001
White (%)	65.1	63.7	62.5	61.9
Black (%)	6.8	7.0	6.9	6.9
Hispanic (%)	17.8	18.7	19.9	20.3
Asian (%)	9.0	9.2	9.2	9.6
Unknown (%)	0.5	0.5	0.7	0.6
Total (N)	12,210	13,813	15,063	18,499

Note: Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding error and the exclusion of American Indian and "other."

Sources: Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board at Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board. Undergraduate Applications, Offers, and Enrollments, Applicant Disposition Information, Summer/Fall 1998-2001 (http://www.thecb.state.tx.us/DataAndStatistics/) and (http://www.thecb.state.tx.us/ane/).

Because California's ELC program was implemented in 2001, limited data are available. In its first year of implementation, eligible students comprised 18 percent of the total admissions offers extended to students. Of those admitted who were classified ELC, 37

percent were white, 34 percent Asian American, 17 percent Latino, and 2 percent African American (Table 21).

Table 21: University of California System-Wide Distribution of ELC Students Admitted Fall 2001, by Race/Ethnicity

	All Students (N)	White (%)	Black (%)	Hispanic (%)	Asian (%)	Unknown (%)
2001	9110	37	2	17	34	9

Note: Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding error and the exclusion of American Indian and "other."
Sources: University of California's Eligibility in Local Context Program Evaluation Report (2002), http://www.ucop.edu/news/cr/report02.pdf.

Like California, Florida has very little data available on Talented 20 admission and enrollments due to its recent implementation and the lack of a central office for collecting data. In Fall 2000, almost two-thirds of the pool of admitted Talented 20 students was white (Table 22). In 2001, their share of the total admitted Talented 20 rose slightly. Blacks represented 16 percent of the admission offers to Talented 20 students in 2000 but 13.1 percent in 2001. Among the admitted Talented 20 student, Hispanics were roughly 12 percent both years. Of the total admitted students for the system, roughly one-third were classified as Talented 20.

Table 22: Florida System-Wide Distribution of Talented 20 Students Admitted Fall 2000-2001, by Race/Ethnicity

	2000	2001
White (%)	65.3	67.6
Black (%)	16.1	13.1
Hispanic (%)	12.1	12.1
Asian (%)	5.9	6.4
Unknown (%)	0.5	0.6
Total (N)	18,890	18, 468

Note: Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding error and the exclusion of American Indian and "other."
Source: Florida Board of Education, Division of Colleges & Universities, Office of Planning, Budgeting and Policy Analysis.

Table 23 presents UT Austin and Texas A&M admissions offers to percent-plan-eligible students. Over time, whites have become a smaller portion and blacks a larger portion of the admission offers to percent plan students at UT Austin. Hispanic and Asian American representation among 10 percent plan eligible students admitted have remained fairly constant over the years 1998-2001. At Texas A&M, whites have similarly seen a decline in their representation among admitted 10 percent plan-eligible students. The proportion of blacks has risen slightly from 1998 to 2001. Asian Americans and Hispanics each increased almost 3 percentage points over the four-year period for which data are available from 3.6 and 10.8 percent to 6.1 and 13.5 percent, respectively. Over time, the proportion of the total admitted student body made up by percent plan-eligible students

has increased. In 2001, for example, almost half of the admitted class was in the top 10 percent of his/her high school graduating class.

Table 23: Distribution of UT Austin and Texas A&M 10 Percent Plan Students Admitted Summer/Fall 1998-2001, by Race/Ethnicity

	1998	1999	2000	2001
UT Austin				
White (%)	59.6	55.8	57.9	58.5
Black (%)	3.1	5.4	4.8	4.2
Hispanic (%)	17.0	17.8	17.4	17.2
Asian (%)	19.8	20.5	19.3	19.1
Unknown (%)	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.6
Total (N)	2807	3149	3560	6055
Texas A&M				
White (%)	81.3	76.0	74.5	75.1
Black (%)	2.3	3.2	3.1	3.6
Hispanic (%)	10.8	12.1	13.5	13.5
Asian (%)	3.6	6.7	6.3	6.1
Unknown (%)	1.0	1.2	2.1	0.9
Total (N)	3095	4860	5286	5646

Note: Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding error and the exclusion of American Indian and "other."

Sources: Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board at Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board. Undergraduate Applications, Offers, and Enrollments, Applicant Disposition Information, Summer/Fall 1998-2001 (http://www.thecb.state.tx.us/DataAndStatistics/) and (http://www.thecb.state.tx.us/ane/).

The University of California has not made ELC admissions data available for the individual campuses disaggregated by race/ethnicity. Forty-two percent of all admitted students at Berkeley in 2000 were eligible in local context. At UCLA, 39 percent of admitted students were classified as ELC.

Among admitted students at the University of Florida and Florida State University, roughly one-third and one-fourth, respectively, were classified as Talented 20. That group of Talented 20 students admitted to the University of Florida was predominantly white in 2000 and became increasingly so in 2001. The number of admitted students who were black dropped by half, from 12.1 percent in 2000 to 6.3 percent in 2001 (Table Florida 24). In 2001, Hispanics were 11.1 percent and Asians 9.4 percent of the total admitted group of Talented 20 eligible students. At Florida State University, almost 75 percent of the Talented 20 students were white in 2001, an increase from the year previous. Blacks saw a similar decrease in their share of the admission offers across the two years while Hispanics and Asians stayed virtually the same.

Table 24: Distribution of University of Florida and Florida State University Talented 20 Students Admitted Summer/Fall 2000-2001, by Race/Ethnicity

	2000	2001
University of Florida		
White (%)	69.6	72.3
Black (%)	12.1	6.3
Hispanic (%)	10.1	11.1
Asian (%)	7.6	9.4
Unknown (%)	0.4	0.6
Total (N)	5244	4074
Florida State University		
White (%)	70.7	74.3
Black (%)	14.7	10.4
Hispanic (%)	9.8	10.2
Asian (%)	4.2	4.5
Unknown (%)	0.4	0.4
Total (N)	3930	3872

Note: Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding error and the exclusion of American Indian and "other."
Source: Florida Board of Education, Division of Colleges & Universities, Office of Planning, Budgeting, and Policy Analysis.

Enrollment

Despite the fact that Texas did not systematically collect application and admissions data before 1998, it did keep enrollment counts by system and by institution.[36] This is important to be able to more accurately assess the effects of *Hopwood* on enrollment. In Texas, the system-wide percentage of enrolled students that was white remained relatively unchanged until 2001, when a slight decrease occurred (to 57 percent) (Table 25). Latinos have fluctuated to between 19 and 21 percent over the seven-year span, African Americans to between roughly 5 and 6 percent. By comparison, the state's total population of 15 to 19 year olds was 44 percent white, 39 percent Hispanic, 13 percent African American, and 3 percent Asian (Table 2).

[36] Due to timing of data collection, slight variations in total counts may occur between this and the data set used for the previous discussions.

Table 25: Texas System-Wide First Time, Full Time Freshman Enrollment, by Race/Ethnicity, Fall 1995-2001

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
White (%)	60.9	60.6	60.2	60.8	60.6	59.1	56.9
Black (%)	11.3	12.5	12.4	11.6	11.6	12.2	12.8
Hispanic (%)	20.8	19.6	19.3	19.7	19.5	20.3	21.3
Asian (%)	5.3	5.4	6.0	5.8	5.9	6.2	6.2
Total (N)	39,798	40,870	41,909	43,145	44,003	46,736	48,769

Note: Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding error and the exclusion of American Indian and "other."
Sources: Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board Statistical Reports, 1997-2002, http://www.thecb.state.tx.us/cfbin/ArchFetch.cfm?DocID=0466&Format=HTML.

Table 26 shows a decline in the percent of the California system-wide freshman enrollment of Latinos over the years 1995 to 2001. African American representation has been fairly consistent at 3 or 4 percent over this same time. Asian Americans have fluctuated between 36 and 39 percent of the total enrollment population, but overall their representation has generally increased from 1995 to 2001. White percentages seem to be generally inconsistent, bouncing as many as 6 percentage points in a year. This may be related to similar trends in enrolled students who declined to state their race.

Table 26: University of California System-Wide Freshman Enrollment, by Race/Ethnicity, Fall 1995-2001

	1995	**1996**	**1997**	**1998**	**1999**	**2000**	**2001**
White (%)	37.2	38.0	39.9	33.2	37.4	36.5	35.7
Black (%)	4.3	3.8	3.9	3.0	2.9	3.1	3.0
Hispanic (%)	15.6	13.8	13.2	11.9	12.4	13.0	13.5
Asian (%)	36.0	36.6	37.1	36.0	38.0	37.9	38.7
Unknown (%)	3.7	4.5	3.3	13.8	6.7	7.0	6.8
Total (N)	21,999	23,189	23,682	24,877	25,970	26826	28,704

Note: Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding error and the exclusion of American Indian and "other."
Source: UC Office of the President, Student Academic Services, OA&SA, REG004/006, January, 2002, http://www.ucop.edu/news/studstaff.html.

Florida's enrolled student body became slightly less white and slightly more Hispanic from 1998 to 2001 (Table 27). African American and Asian American students have remained a relatively consistent proportion of the total enrollment, despite Florida's changing state demographics.

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Table 27: Florida System-Wide Freshman Enrollment, by Race/Ethnicity, Summer/Fall 1998-2001

	1998	1999	2000	2001
White (%)	61.8	60.4	60.6	60.1
Black (%)	17.8	17.6	17.7	17.2
Hispanic (%)	13.6	14.7	14.0	14.8
Asian (%)	4.6	4.6	5.1	4.9
Unknown (%)	0.4	0.8	0.8	1.2
Total (N)	27,849	30,334	33,144	34,156

Note: Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding error and the exclusion of American Indians and "other."

Source: Florida Board of Education, Division of Colleges and Universities, Office of Planning, Budgeting and Policy Analysis, http://www.fldcu.org/.

Enrollment at the Premier Institutions

Just prior to the 1996 *Hopwood* decision, UT Austin's 1995 enrollment was 66 percent white, 3 percent black, 14 percent Hispanic, and 14 percent Asian American. Hispanic enrollment at UT Austin dropped two percentage points from 1995 to 1998 (the first year of the percent plan) (maybe say dropped two percentage points from 1996 to 1997 following Hopwood ruling) but had risen back to 13.4 percent of the enrolled student body in 2001 (Table 28). African American representation among 2001 enrollments was similar to 1996 proportions. Asian Americans, proportionally, have increased from 14.1 percent in 1995 to 18.1 percent of enrolled students in 2001; whites have similarly decreased, going from 66.4 percent of the enrolled students in 1995 to 62.3 percent in 2001.

At Texas A&M in 1995, 78 percent of the enrolled students were white, 4.5 percent black, 14.3 percent Hispanic, and 2.6 percent Asian. By comparison, in 2001, 81.8 percent of the enrolled students were white. Blacks and Hispanics saw small increases from 1998 to 2001 to 3.1 percent and 10.4 percent, respectively, but neither group reached proportional parity with the 1996 cohort, despite the implementation of the 10 percent plan in 1998. Additionally, for both universities, these enrollment figures are contextualized by a 15- to 19-year old population in 2000 of 44 percent whites, 13 percent African Americans, and 39 percent Hispanics.

Table 28: UT Austin and Texas A&M First-Time, Full-Time Freshman Fall Enrollment, by Race/Ethnicity, Fall 1995 to 2001

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
UT Austin							
White (%)	66.4	66.2	67.4	65.9	63.7	62.7	62.3
Black (%)	3.4	3.0	2.6	2.9	4.1	3.8	3.4
Hispanic (%)	14.1	14.2	12.2	12.7	13.7	13.1	13.4
Asian (%)	14.1	14.4	15.8	16.6	17.0	16.8	18.1
Total (N)	5414	5226	6182	5665	6018	6148	5743
Texas A&M							
White (%)	78.2	82.8	83.5	82.0	83.0	80.7	81.8
Black (%)	4.5	3.5	2.8	2.7	2.7	2.7	3.1
Hispanic (%)	14.3	10.6	9.1	8.9	8.6	10.1	10.4
Asian (%)	2.6	2.7	3.4	3.4	3.4	3.6	3.1
Total (N)	5068	5231	5199	6523	6553	6445	6106

Note: Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding error and the exclusion of American Indian and "other."

Sources: Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board Statistical Reports, 1997-2002, http://www.thecb.state.tx.us/cfbin/ArchFetch.cfm?DocID=0466&Format=HTML.

Table 29 shows the enrollment trends by race/ethnicity for Berkeley and UCLA. From 1995 to 2001, Hispanics and African Americans saw the largest declines in proportional representation among enrollees, going from 16.9 and 6.7 percent, respectively, to 10.8 and 3.9 percent, respectively. These percentages, however, do represent an increase from lows in 1998. In this seven-year period, whites have remained steady at about 29 percent of the enrolled class. The proportion of enrolled students who were Asian at Berkeley rose from 38.5 percent in 1995 to 45.4 percent in 2001. Again, the proportion of enrolled students who did not indicate race/ethnicity shot up in 1998 and subsequently began a slow decline.

At UCLA, the proportion of enrolled students who were white rose noticeably from 1995 to 1997 and then hovered between 30 and 33 percent of the total. The black proportion of the enrolled student body has declined over this period, reaching a low of 3.4 percent in 2001. Similarly, Hispanic representation among enrolled students dropped from 22.4 percent in 1995 to 14.4 percent in 2001 - the first year of ELC implementation (Table 29). The proportion of enrolled students who were Asian American rose by 4 percentage points over 7 years. Two caveats, however: First, as all the California data, the racial/ethnic representation is skewed by the spike in the proportion of enrolled students who did not identify race beginning in 1998. Second, these (as well Berkeley) data must be considered in comparison to the state's 15- to 19-year-old population, which in 2000 was 34 percent white, 7 percent African American, 39 percent Hispanic, and 11 percent Asian American (Table 2).

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Table 29: UC Berkeley and UCLA Freshman Enrollment, by Race/Ethnicity, Fall 1995-2001

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
UC Berkeley							
White (%)	29.5	29.1	28.3	28.2	30.5	29.5	28.6
Black (%)	6.7	6.5	7.8	3.7	3.8	4.3	3.9
Hispanic (%)	16.9	15.7	14.6	8.0	10.0	9.6	10.8
Asian (%)	38.5	39.7	42.3	44.0	44.9	45.2	45.4
Unknown (%)	5.1	5.7	4.6	14.6	8.4	9.2	9.3
Total (N)	3034	3390	3215	3333	3218	3343	3522
UCLA							
White (%)	25.6	30.6	32.6	30.0	33.2	32.3	30.6
Black (%)	7.4	6.3	5.6	3.5	3.8	3.7	3.4
Hispanic (%)	22.4	19.0	15.8	11.0	12.6	13.2	14.4
Asian (%)	38.3	36.4	39.2	40.0	40.1	40.9	42.0
Unknown (%)	3.3	4.7	4.1	13.4	7.8	7.4	7.3
Total (N)	3523	3662	3571	3937	3872	3928	3980

Note: Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding error and the exclusion of American Indian and "other."

Source: UC Office of the President, Student Academic Services, OA&SA, REG004/006, January, 2002, http://www.ucop.edu/news/studstaff.html.

Until 2001 (the first full admissions cycle without consideration of race), the University of Florida's proportion of enrolled students who were white was shrinking and, concurrently, the proportion of enrolled students who were black and Hispanic was increasing (Table 30). In 2001, the first full year that Talented 20 was implemented, however, the percentage of enrolled students who were white rose dramatically from 66.3 percent in 2000 to 72.3 percent. During the same year, black representation took a similarly dramatic downturn, going from 11.8 percent of those enrolled to 7.2 percent. The Asian share of enrollment generally hovered at around 7.4 percent over the four years.

In almost the reverse, Florida State University saw a marked drop from 2000 to 2001 in the proportion of enrolled students who were white (Table 30). During this same period Hispanics saw a 3.6 percentage point increase. Blacks rose modestly from 11.0 to 11.8 percent of total enrollment.

Table 30: University of Florida and Florida State University Freshman Enrollment, by Race/Ethnicity, Summer/Fall 1998-2001

	1998	1999	2000	2001
University of Florida				
White (%)	72.6	70.5	66.3	72.3
Black (%)	8.2	9.7	11.8	7.2
Hispanic (%)	10.1	11.3	11.9	11.2
Asian (%)	7.3	6.6	7.4	7.3
Unknown (%)	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.3
Total (N)	5914	6362	7113	6432
Florida State University				
White (%)	75.9	76.4	75.1	70.7
Black (%)	12.4	11.2	11.0	11.8
Hispanic (%)	7.8	8.8	9.1	12.7
Asian (%)	2.9	2.8	3.2	2.9
Unknown (%)	0.0	0.0	0.7	1.1
Total (N)	5257	5237	5887	5918

Note: Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding error and the exclusion of American Indians and "other."

Source: Florida Board of Education, Division of Colleges and Universities, Office of Planning, Budgeting and Policy Analysis, http://www.fldcu.org/.

In conclusion, the data presented in this section highlight several key issues related to the effectiveness of percent plans at achieving a racially diverse campus. First, in all three states, the gap between the racial distribution of college-freshman-age population and that of the applications, admissions, and enrollments to the states' university systems and to their premier campuses is substantial and has grown even as the states have become more diverse. Second, in California in particular, proportional representation of applied, admitted, and enrolled blacks and Hispanics on the flagship campuses has decreased since the end of race-conscious policies. Similar trends occurred in Texas, where although minority representation has risen back to or near pre-*Hopwood levels* at UT Austin, the same cannot be said for blacks and Hispanics at Texas A&M. Further, as suggested more generally above, even among those with rising minority rates, none of the premier institutions in Texas, California, or Florida has reached enrollment levels reflecting the potential college-going population. This is particularly important in Texas, given that one of its goals to is achieve "minority enrollment reflect[ing] the population of areas it serves and from which it recruits students" (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, n.d.e). Finally, all of these data must be considered even more broadly in the context of the racially/ethnically isolated K-12 school systems with low graduation and college-going rates relative to the rest of the country, which feed students into the Texas, California, and Florida public institutions of higher education. In short, data, albeit scarce in the case of California and Florida, suggest that percent plans have fallen well short of creating diverse flagship campuses reflective of the states they are

intended to serve. Moreover, additional research has been done to suggest that even among those admitted under the percent plan policies, a majority would have likely been admitted regardless.

Outreach, Recruitment, Financial Aid, and Percent Plans

Like other states across the country, Texas, California, and Florida have all implemented test-driven K-12 educational reforms and additional efforts to improve both students' preparation for and successful navigation through college. In Texas, for example, the state has adopted the *Closing the Gaps by 2015* plan to improve participation, success, excellence, and research in public higher education (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, July 2002). California has *Expanding Educational Horizons,* which works toward "bolstering academic performance in California's schools and better preparing students for college" through activities such as tutoring, school partnerships, and professional development (University of California Office of the President, n.d.).[37] Florida has implemented the A+ reform and the *Bright Futures Scholarship Program* that awards merit scholarships to students based on high school GPA and test scores (Heller & Marin, 2002). Some state systems (e.g., the University of California) have also tied recruitment efforts to the percent plans, using letter campaigns, for example, to encourage identified students at the top of their high school classes to complete the requirements necessary to take advantage of the guaranteed admission (J. Oakes, personal communication with S. Flores on July 19, 2002).

In addition to these more global system efforts, the premier institutions in each state have also begun to put into place outreach and recruiting plans to mitigate an inability to consider race in the admission process in reaching the end goal of a racially diverse student body. In particular, targeted financial aid is often being used to recruit traditionally disadvantaged students.[38] While some of these scholarships are tied to a percent plan, most are more broadly based. The next section of the paper looks at some of these additional efforts at each of the premier institutions in Texas, California, and Florida.

UT Austin

The University of Texas at Austin has taken an aggressive approach to maintaining a racially/ethnically diverse campus in spite of the limitations put on it by *Hopwood* (The

[37] Funding for educational outreach at the University of California rose substantially in 1998 to address disadvantaged student access in light of SP-1 and Proposition 209. At its peak, almost $200 million was being allocated for student development, school partnerships, teacher professional development, and school capacity programs. Beginning in 2001, however, the state began cutting funding, and the proposed budget for 2003-2004 brings outreach funding down to roughly $47 million (University of California Office of the President, 2003).

[38] This approach is supported by a large body of research showing that, in addition to other important factors in the development of student educational and occupational expectations such as parental encouragement and high school preparation, financial aid has a strong influence on college enrollment (e.g., see Terenzini, Cabrera, & Bernal, 2001; Nora, 2001).

University of Texas at Austin's experience, January 16, 2003). For example, UT has worked to recruit underrepresented students by sending the president of the University, Larry Faulkner, to visit high schools that have historically sent few students (Selingo, 1999b). UT has also tried to attract traditionally underrepresented students through the use of scholarships. "[Historically], the goals of the [race-conscious] scholarship program [prior to 1996] were to attract bright, well-prepared African American and Hispanic students not only to enroll but to persist through graduation" (Hanson & Burt, n.d., p. 2). In the wake of *Hopwood*, UT implemented the new Presidential Achievement Scholars program (PAS), which was intended to "identify students from economically disadvantaged backgrounds who may have attended an academically inferior high school, but found a way to excel academically at much higher levels than their peers within the same high school and socioeconomic circumstances" (Hanson & Burt, n.d., p. 4). This scholarship uses an adversity index score comprising family socioeconomic status, a school quality index, an indicator of peer performance on the SAT or ACT, and high school class rank. Depending on level of need and rank in class, students graduating in the top 25 percent of their high school classes can receive scholarship awards ranging from $1000 to $5000 dollars (Hanson & Burt, n.d.).

UT has also tied scholarships more directly into the 10 percent plan as an additional means by which to attract underrepresented students. The Longhorn Opportunity Scholarship (LOS) is specifically earmarked for low-income students graduating in the top 10 percent of their classes who come from high schools in designated low-income areas (see Appendix C for full list of schools). Historically, UT Austin received 75 percent of its freshman class from only 150 high schools across the state. Because of this, the LOS intentionally targets schools that have not sent many students to the university, the majority of which are predominantly black or Latino (Hurd, 2000).[39] Believing that this scholarship must include retention services, UT requires recipients of the LOS to participate in the Connexus Program, an infrastructural support system that provides access to housing, free tutoring, a mentor, and other benefits (L. Burt, personal communication with S. Flores, March 26, 2002). Further, LOS students who have SAT scores less than 1100 can also participate in a separate retention program focused on less academically prepared students (the Gateway Program). Dr. Larry Burt, the Director of Financial Aid, notes that such combined efforts are necessary for ensuring success.

Texas A&M

Texas A&M had begun to see a decline in minority enrollment even prior to *Hopwood* (Wilogoren, 1999). On a campus that is over 80 percent white and laden with the history of an all-male, predominately white military training institution, this is not necessarily surprising (Finnell, 1998; Nissimov, 2002). In a post-*Hopwood* study conducted by the

[39] In a 2001 study, David Montejano found that 74 Texas high schools still accounted for about half of the Fall 2000 entering class at UT Austin. The other half of the 6300 in-state entering freshman came from 718 high schools, of which 200 were "new senders." The study found that these "new sender" schools were predominantly minority high schools in Dallas/Fort Worth, Houston, and San Antonio, and rural white high schools in east and northeast Texas. The study also found that 700 high schools still send no students to UT Austin (2001).

Race and Ethnic Studies Institute at Texas A&M, for example, researchers found that minority students were not enrolling at the university primarily because of lack of personal attention and inadequate financial aid packages. Additionally, 40 percent indicated that they did not enroll, in part, because of the college characteristics (Arekere & Rice, 2001).[40] Thus, although much of the recent discussion of affirmative action has ignored this issue, these findings suggest that there are still universities that have not overcome their negative image among many minorities.

Despite this history, however, Texas A&M has implemented several strategies geared toward recruiting and retaining minorities on campus. Like UT Austin, Texas A&M had competitive minority scholarships prior to *Hopwood*. After 1996, however, the institution disbanded those race-conscious programs and struggled to develop a new, legally defensible approach (Finnell, 1998). According to the Director of the Office of Honors Scholarships, DeJuana Young, the first method utilized was a tier system that included a 1200-1250 SAT requirement and a top 15% class placement. "This didn't work in achieving diversity, so we tried something else," Young said. The second attempt involved looking at family income and Texas Education Agency school data. However, Young said that this attempt, which concentrated on family income, was not very effective either. The university found that many high-achieving minority students that traditionally applied to the university did not qualify for the scholarship because of their income. The effect, according to Young, was that the percent plans directed attention away from traditional feeders.

In fall 2000, Texas A&M established a scholarship program targeted at top 10 percent students. The Century Scholars Program (CSP) serves students from approximately 40 high schools: 17 to 20 in Houston and 20 in Dallas, districts with large shares of black and Latino students (see Appendix C for full list of schools). Through interviews, students who meet the academic qualifications and other CSP criteria are selected to receive a flat rate scholarship intended to keep recipients "debt free" (J. Estrada, personal communication with S. Flores, March 28, 2002). It is interesting to note that unlike the UT scholarship that earmarks monies for low-income students, the CSP is available to students across income levels (D. Young, personal communication with S. Flores, March 28, 2002). Texas A&M also uses these scholars as "ambassadors" to their respective high schools to help with student recruitment (D. Young, personal communication with S. Flores, March 28, 2002). The university is hoping to expand the program to include schools in San Antonio and the Rio Grande Valley by 2003 and 2004, respectively (J. Estrada, personal communication with S. Flores, March 28, 2002).

Retention services are also an integral part of the CSP according to university officials. CSP recipients are invited to attend a summer camp called *Summer Bridge* that includes summer school classes and mentoring before the freshman year at Texas A&M. *Summer Bridge* is sponsored by the Department of Multicultural Services, which also administers the Excel Student program - a retention program that provides services targeted at first-year ethnic and racial minorities on campus (ExCEL Student Service Program, n.d.).

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[40] This study does not address the influence of the 10 percent plan directly but does speak to a larger campus climate that is present.

Other benefits received by CSP recipients since its transfer to the Office of Honors Scholarships include an upper-classman student mentor, monthly meetings as a group, and potential opportunities to take the honors program route and/or engage in research activities (D. Young, personal communicatior with S. Flores, March 28, 2002).

Texas A&M also recently attempted to initiate an additional admission strategy aimed at increasing diversity on campus. Although they ultimately decided against it, the Texas A&M University System Regents briefly considered a plan to give automatic admission to the top 20 percent of graduates from 250 "low-performing" high schools across the state (Nissimov, 2002). This effort met with resistance from conservative groups, including Ward Connerly of California, despite the fact the policy was non-racial and authorized by House Bill 588. Critics argued that such a plan would be, at best, a thinly veiled race-based affirmative action measure (Lum, 2002).

UT Austin and Texas A&M have jointly created outreach centers in key areas across the state including: Houston, San Antonio, Corpus Christi, Dallas, Austin, and the Rio Grande Valley (The University of Texas at Austin, n.d.). These centers, however, do not focus on direct recruitment to the flagship universities per se but instead focus on general college preparation and outreach methods for middle and high school students in Texas. The centers are collaborative efforts by both UT Austin and Texas A&M (The University of Texas at Austin, n.d.). However, the University of Texas at Austin recently opened regional admissions offices in Houston and Dallas that do focus on recruitment efforts and distribute financial aid, housing and other pertinent enrollment information to students in local area schools (A. Estes Swanson, personal communication with S. Flores, April 24, 2002).

UC Berkeley

According to officials at the university, Berkeley has redoubled its efforts to attract underrepresented students post Proposition 209. Much of the work has occurred through student groups on the Berkeley campus and stems from a long history of such efforts (Berkeleyan, 1998). Housed under a program called Bridges Multicultural Center, organizations are trained and funded to carry out such activities as visiting high schools, conducting essay-writing workshops, and assisting students with the completion of their college applications. Student groups in the umbrella organization include the Black Recruitment and Retention Center, the Native American Recruitment and Retention Center, Raza Recruitment and Retention Center and Asian American Recruitment and Retention Center (Berkeleyan, 1998). In addition, the admissions office has held recruiting events targeted at African American and Chicano applicants (Cal Parents, 1999).

Since 1998, Berkeley has also used a comprehensive review process to evaluate and admit 50 percent of its incoming freshmen. This process results in an academic score based on criteria such as the rigor of high school curriculum attempted, grades, test scores, and academic honors. Additionally, an applicant receives a comprehensive score based on academic achievement and other factors, including personal qualities and non-

academic achievements. In both scores, the student's "context" is to be considered, and no single factor is pre-assigned a fixed weight, "although academic factors clearly predominate" (The University of California, Berkeley, 2001).

Like the Texas flagships, Berkeley also offers several scholarships aimed at attracting underrepresented students (although none specifically targeted at ELC students). The Incentive Awards Program, begun in 1991 (prior to SP-1 or Proposition 209) offers full scholarships to one student from every eligible high school "who, despite socioeconomic hardship, exhibits exceptional academic potential and leadership promise" (Berkeley Undergraduate Affairs, n.d.) (see Appendix D for list of schools). Award recipients receive special services, including workshops to cover topics generally important to students like financial aid.

In addition, the Financial Aid Office at UC Berkeley administers three yield-related scholarships. The Cal Opportunity Scholarship Program (CalOP) began with the incoming class of 2000 and attempts to help "high achieving socioeconomically disadvantaged students" (University of California, Berkeley, n.d.). These scholarships of up to full need when combined with other federal, state and outside scholarships and grants are offered to students in 17 Bay area high schools with an average family income of $35,000 or less. CalOp recipients are matched with a faculty mentor whose purpose is to "facilitate the recipient's academic success" (University of California, Berkeley, n.d.). Additionally, they are invited to join the CalOP Scholars Association, which provides opportunities for community service, career planning, and networking.

The Ditty Scholarship has been used for almost 20 years to target high achieving students in the Pomona area, although no specific retention policies are in place to accompany the award. Finally, SAGE scholarships are competitively available to full-time undergraduate students with at least a 3.0 GPA and who qualify for need-based financial aid. Selected students work with a sponsoring company that provides internships and financial awards to offset the costs of tuition (up to $6500) (SAGE Scholars Program, n.d.)

UCLA

Recruitment and retention efforts at UCLA have also been aggressive post Proposition 209, although, again, they have not been directly targeted at ELC students. For example, the University and state worked together and doubled the amount of money originally budgeted into outreach and recruitment (T. Lifka, personal communication with S. Flores, July 12, 2002). Similarly to Berkeley, much of the work has been channeled through individual student groups.

Additionally, the chancellor of the University has made visits to traditionally underrepresented high schools in the Los Angeles area encouraging students to apply and attend UCLA (Kudo, 2000). According to a *UCLA Today* article, Carnesale has "vowed to continue to dedicate resources to campus outreach efforts aimed at achieving adequate representation in the student body of all segments of the community" (Cardenas, 1999).

The financial awards UCLA offers to students coming from high schools traditionally underrepresented on the campus are called the Blue and Gold Scholarships. The scholarships are offered to students attending designated high schools in the greater LA area with a low track record of attendance to UCLA (many of which are heavily black and Latino) (see Appendix D for list of high schools). They provide about 100 scholarships of up to approximately $5000/year, depending on need, and combine those dollars with retention efforts (T. Lifka, personal communication with S. Flores, July 12, 2002).

According to Gail Ishino, UCLA's Assistant Director of Financial Aid, retention activities are a very important part of the scholarships. She said that the university tries to offer similar activities for different societies of scholarships. The Blue & Gold Scholarship recipients, for example, meet annually, have a board of students and a have a sponsor/advisor. These students also have access to the school's Academic Advancement Program (AAP), formerly UCLA's premier minority retention program. According to the program's director and now Associate Vice Provost, Alfredo Bermeo, the AAP offers a "multiracial community that will treat you with respect, provide you with a home away from home, work to ensure your academic success, and help prepare you for socially responsible leadership" (Academic Advancement Program, n.d.b). The program was restructured to abide by Proposition 209 requirements against racial preferences, although Bermeo assures students that "Proposition 209 has not affected the heart and soul of AAP" (Academic Advancement Program, n.d.b).

University of Florida

Although Governor Bush's One Florida policy ended the consideration of race in admissions, it kept in place the ability to consider race in the administration of financial aid, recruitment, and retention. As such, both the University of Florida and Florida State University have continued to make use of race-conscious financial aid opportunity where permitted. After the implementation of One Florida, the University of Florida began additional policies to supplement the race-conscious policies that remained in place. Florida State University focused on aggressive affirmative recruiting and enrollment management strongly targeted by race (S. Flores, personal communication with J. Harris, February 3, 2003).

However, similar to the University of California, and unlike the Texas flagship universities, the Florida leading institutions do not have scholarship or retention programs associated with the state's Talented 20 program. Since minority scholarships are still allowed on each university campus, each institution provides its own model of this award as a recruitment mechanism. Depending on the role of the program in the school's admissions decisions process, a school's major retention program may or may not be targeted to minority students. Finally, the state's Florida Student Assistance Grant (FSAG), the state's need-based program, is the only financial program associated with the One Florida Talented 20 initiative (One Florida, n.d.b). Under the Talented 20

regulations, students in this group are to receive priority FSAG funding if they financially qualify for these awards.

At the University of Florida, there is added emphasis placed on targeting minority students, and efforts to involve the entire family, not just the student (Marin & Lee, 2003). In addition, the Office for Student Financial Affairs hired a full-time Minority Outreach Coordinator to provide support to this initiative. From the Division of Student Affairs, additional student programming was implemented. Gator Launch, a minority career mentoring program, was implemented in spring 2001 by the Career Resource Center. The goal was to both serve current students and attract greater numbers of minority students simply by showing focused support for this population. In addition, funds were provided by UF's program office to develop multicultural programming in the student union. Another program, A.S.P.I.R.E. (African American Student Program for Improvement and Retention in Education) is a grant-based initiative launched by the university's counseling center in 2000 (S. Flores, personal communication with J. Harris, February 3, 2003). A.S.P.I.R.E. provides "consultation and support to programs and organizations that promote the recruitment and retention of African American students" (African American Student Program for Improvement and Retention in Education, n.d.).

The University of Florida's College of Education has established Florida Alliances – partnerships with five urban high schools in Florida, chosen for their high minority population and "failing school" status (Marin & Lee, 2003). This program involves academic and support units at UF such as admissions, recruitment, and student services. The goal is to help improve the quality of these schools and to develop a pipeline of students into UF. Teacher training is provided to assist with curriculum development and mentoring relationships are developed. In addition, five four-year scholarships of $12,500 are available to the top five students from each of the partner schools (College of Education, n.d.).

Florida State University

Part of FSU's aggressive recruitment strategy includes adding increased support to its minority outreach activities by sending minority recruitment officers to cities with high schools with large minority student populations. The focus of these increased efforts has been to increase the number of minority applications to the university to yield higher enrollment numbers for this population. Additionally, a longstanding component of minority recruitment that remains in place is the university's "Incentive Scholarship" for incoming freshmen. This scholarship is awarded to the "best minority freshman students" based on grades and test scores in the amount of $8,000 distributed over four years (Florida State University, n.d.).

Florida State University's retention program, however, is not race targeted according to university officials (S. Flores, personal communication with Angela Richardson, February 3, 2003). In the spring 2000, previous minority-focused retention programs entitled Summer Enrichment and Horizons Unlimited were merged into the the Center for Academic Retention and Enhancement (CARE) program. Unlike the previous enrichment programs, CARE now targets first-generation college students and seeks to

serve approximately 300 students per summer. The program is an academic support unit that begins in the summer and assists in outreach, recruitment, admissions decisions, and retention of "undergraduate students who are disadvantaged due to economic, educational or cultural circumstances" (Center for Academic Retention and Enhancement, n.d.). Furthermore, there is a separate CARE application that students fill out and CARE staff participate in the FSU admission decisions to bring in these first-generation and/or disadvantaged students (S. Flores, personal communication with Angela Richardson, February 3, 2003). Within the university, the program includes academic advising, tutoring, small seminar courses and other retention services for the four to five years the student is at FSU.

Conclusion

The basic tenet of percent plans is that the goal of diversity can be achieved simply and in a non-racial manner through the guarantee of automatic admission to a fixed percentage of the high school graduates at all of a state's high schools. Like almost all simple solutions to complex problems, however, understanding the actual impact of the percent plan proves far more complex on examination.

What can be learned from this study? First, the public higher education systems as a whole and more specifically the premier institutions in Texas, California, and Florida range dramatically in their selectivity and national prominence. Both UCLA and Berkeley rank among the top institutions in the country, while neither of the Florida schools is nationally ranked. Of the two in Texas, only UT Austin is loosely comparable to the California flagships in terms of reputation, but even then it admits far more applicants than either UCLA or Berkeley.

In the context of those differences, the percent plans seem to have the least impact on the most competitive campuses, which have persisting losses in spite of many levels of efforts to make up for affirmative action. Only the Texas 10 percent plan provides automatic admission to the best campuses. As evidenced by Tienda et al.'s study, however, those campuses would have admitted the great majority of students eligible under the plan anyway. At the most selective campuses in California and Florida, the percent plans provide no right of enrollment to students. Eligible students are only guaranteed admission to the system, which, actually, additional studies suggest would have been the case regardless.

Second, what the plans actually appear to do, when they work, is to serve as a kind of shorthand for what university officials know are actually systems of openly- or loosely-veiled race-attentive outreach, recruitment, support programs, and financial aid that enhance the likelihood of application, admission, and enrollment for some students. At the University of Texas and the University of Florida as suggested by preliminary 2002 data, there has been a partial recovery. But any increases in racial/ethnic diversity on these campuses cannot be singularly attributed to percent plans because they have happened in the context of the extensive race-attentive efforts made by these schools. As UT Austin acknowledges, the success it has had is due largely to "increasing recruiting

and financial aid for minority students" (The University of Texas at Austin, 2003). Without such supports, the plans are more like empty shells, appearing to promise eligibility, admission, and enrollment for previously excluded groups but actually doing very little. And even with these supports, on some campuses, they fail. It is important to recognize that the plans, especially in California and Florida, are very young and emerged in a period of institutional growth, prosperity and expanding budgets. Given that these indirect methods of attaining diversity are costly, the current recession is the first test of the sustainability of the plans, and early budget decisions already threaten some of these programs.

Finally, there are already clear signs that the same critics of affirmative action now arguing that percent plans are viable alternatives in their campaigns to outlaw affirmative action will next target percent plans and their supportive outreach and aid components. The percent plans offer no safe harbor for institutions wishing to immunize themselves from either litigation or political attack.

Appendix A

Table A1: High School Completion Rates, By State, 1994-2000

State	1994	2000
Alabama	60.1%	58.9%
Alaska	70.8%	62.3%
Arizona	63.8%	59.2%
Arkansas	76.4%	73.1%
California	66.3%	67.4%
Colorado	74.9%	70.3%
Connecticut	78.9%	77.0%
Delaware	66.5%	60.7%
Florida	59.3%	55.2%
Georgia	59.4%	52.3%
Hawaii	76.1%	64.1%
Idaho	79.7%	76.9%
Illinois	77.2%	70.9%
Indiana	71.3%	67.7%
Iowa	87.0%	79.8%
Kansas	79.0%	73.8%
Kentucky	75.5%	64.7%
Louisiana	58.5%	54.9%
Maine	74.0%	75.7%
Maryland	74.7%	71.2%
Massachusetts	78.0%	74.8%
Michigan	70.0%	67.3%
Minnesota	87.9%	83.7%
Mississippi	62.4%	53.5%
Missouri	73.2%	72.2%
Montana	84.4%	77.9%
Nebraska	85.1%	83.8%
Nevada	67.4%	68.7%
New Hampshire	78.3%	73.8%
New Jersey	85.3%	81.0%
New Mexico	66.6%	55.3%
New York	64.5%	53.9%
North Carolina	66.0%	58.7%
North Dakota	87.7%	84.1%
Ohio	75.0%	69.6%
Oklahoma	76.1%	72.5%
Oregon	72.7%	67.2%
Pennsylvania	78.9%	73.2%
Rhode Island	73.4%	69.3%
South Carolina	57.5%	51.0%
South Dakota	91.4%	73.8%
Tennessee	63.0%	54.8%
Texas	59.6%	61.9%
Utah	80.2%	81.5%
Vermont	84.6%	75.6%
Virginia	72.4%	73.9%
Washington	76.7%	70.8%
West Virginia	78.0%	74.4%
Wisconsin	81.9%	78.0%
Wyoming	84.3%	75.0%

Note: The data in Table A1 are from "Chance for College by Age 19 by State in 2000," by Tom Mortenson, September, 2002, Postsecondary Education OPPORTUNITY, 123, p. 7. Data in the original are drawn from the National Center of Educational Statistics' Common Core of Data. Adapted with permission.

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Appendix B

Table B1: College Enrollment Rates, 2000, By State

State	2000
Alabama	58%
Alaska	44%
Arizona	50%
Arkansas	53%
California	48%
Colorado	53%
Connecticut	62%
Delaware	60%
Florida	58%
Georgia	60%
Hawaii	60%
Idaho	45%
Illinois	60%
Indiana	60%
Iowa	65%
Kansas	68%
Kentucky	59%
Louisiana	59%
Maine	54%
Maryland	55%
Massachusetts	69%
Michigan	59%
Minnesota	64%
Mississippi	63%
Missouri	53%
Montana	54%
Nebraska	59%
Nevada	40%
New Hampshire	59%
New Jersey	64%
New Mexico	59%
New York	64%
North Carolina	65%
North Dakota	69%
Ohio	56%
Oklahoma	50%
Oregon	51%
Pennsylvania	61%
Rhode Island	66%
South Carolina	66%
South Dakota	64%
Tennessee	62%
Texas	53%
Utah	38%
Vermont	45%
Virginia	53%
Washington	45%
West Virginia	52%
Wisconsin	57%
Wyoming	52%

Note: The data in Table B1 are from "Chance for College by Age 19 by State in 2000," by Tom Mortenson, September, 2002, Postsecondary Education OPPORTUNITY, 123, p. 7. Adapted with permission.

Appendix C

Table C1: Participating High Schools for the Texas A&M Century Scholars Program and the UT Austin LOS

TEXAS A&M CENTURY SCHOLAR HIGH SCHOOLS

Source: http://www.tamu.edu/admissions/Undergrad/centschol/cschol.html

Houston Area	**Dallas Area**
Aldine	Amon Carter-Riverside
B. T. Washington	A. Maceo Smith
Barbara Jordan	Bryan Adams
Charles Milby	David W. Carter
Evan E. Worthing	Dunbar
High School for Health Professions	Hillcrest
Jack Yates	James Madison
James Madison	Justin F. Kimball
Jefferson Davis	L. G. Pinkston
Jesse H. Jones	Lincoln
John H. Reagan	North Dallas
Kashmere	O. D. Wyatt
Northbrook	Polytechnic
P. Wheatley	Roosevelt
Pasadena	Skyline
Ross S. Sterling	South Oak Cliff
Sam Rayburn	Townview Magnet Center
Sharpstown	W. H. Adamson
South Houston	W. W. Samuell
Stephen F. Austin	Woodrow Wilson
Willowridge	

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN: LONGHORN OPPORTUNITY SCHOLARSHIP HIGH SCHOOLS

Source:
http://www.utexas.edu/student/finaid/scholarships/los_hschools.html

Dallas I.S.D.

Business & Management Center at Townview Magnet Center - David W. Carter High School

Thomas Jefferson High School

Justin F. Kimball High School

Houston Area High Schools

Aldine I.S.D.

Aldine Senior High School - Houston, Texas

Douglas MacArthur Senior High School - Houston, Texas

Lincoln High School and Humanities / Communications Magnet Center

James Madison High School

North Dallas High School

L. G. Pinkston High School
Franklin D. Roosevelt High School

W. W. Samuell High School

Skyline High School and Career Development

A. Maceo Smith High School

South Oak Cliff High School

H. Grady Spruce High School
Sunset High School

Fort Worth I.S.D.

Eastern Hills High School

Polytechnic High School

Green B. Trimble Technical High School
O. D. Wyatt Senior High School

Wilmer-Hutchins I.S.D.

Wilmer Hutchins High School

El Paso Area High Schools
Canutillo I.S.D.
Canutillo High School - Canutillo, Texas

El Paso I.S.D.
Andress High School - El Paso, Texas
Stephen F. Austin High School - El Paso, Texas

Bowie High School - El Paso, Texas

Houston I.S.D.

Stephen F. Austin High School - Houston, Texas
Jefferson Davis Senior High School - Houston, Texas
Sam Houston Senior High School - Houston, Texas
Jesse H. Jones High School - Houston, Texas
Barbara Jordan High School for Careers - Houston, Texas
Kashmere Senior High School - Houston, Texas

High School for Law Enforcement & Criminal Justice - Houston, Texas
James Madison Senior High School - Houston, Texas
Charles H. Milby High School - Houston, Texas

John H. Reagan High School - Houston, Texas
George I. Sanchez High School - Houston, Texas
Sharpstown High School - Houston, Texas
Ross Shaw Sterling High School - Houston, Texas
Booker T. Washington Senior High School - Houston, Texas
Evan E. Worthing High School - Houston, Texas
Jack Yates High School - Houston, Texas

North Forest I.S.D.
Forest Brook Senior High School - Houston, Texas
M. B. Smiley Senior High School - Houston, Texas

San Antonio Area High Schools
Edgewood I.S.D.

John F. Kennedy High School - San Antonio, Texas
Memorial High School - San Antonio, Texas

Harlandale I.S.D.

Harlandale Senior High School - San Antonio, Texas

El Paso High School - El Paso, Texas

Irvin High School - El Paso, Texas
Thomas Jefferson High School - El Paso, Texas

Socorro I.S.D.
Socorro High School - El Paso, Texas

Ysletta I.S.D.
Bel Air High School - El Paso, Texas

Del Valle High School - El Paso, Texas

Parkland High School - El Paso, Texas
Riverside High School - El Paso, Texas
Ysleta High School - El Paso, Texas

South San Antonio I.S.D.
South San Antonio High School - San Antonio, Texas
South San Antonio West Campus High School - San Antonio, Texas

Southwest I.S.D.
Southwest High School - San Antonio, Texas

Other High Schools
Beaumont I.S.D.
Central Senior High School - Beaumont, Texas

Laredo I.S.D.
Martin High School - Laredo, Texas

United I.S.D.
United South High School - Laredo, Texas

Port Arthur I.S.D.
Abraham Lincoln High School - Port Arthur, Texas

Wichita Falls I.S.D.
John Hirschi Math/Science International Baccalaureate Magnet High School - Wichita Falls, Texas

Dillard McCollum High School - San Antonio, Texas

Northside I.S.D.

John Jay High School - San Antonio, Texas

San Antonio I.S.D.
Louis W. Fox Technical High School - San Antonio, Texas
Highlands High School - San Antonio, Texas
Sam Houston High School - San Antonio, Texas

Sidney Lanier High School - San Antonio, Texas

Appendix D

Table D1: Participating High Schools for UCLA and Berkeley Scholarships

UCLA Super 12 High Schools (Los Angeles Area)

Super 12 Schools
Crenshaw HS
Dorsey HS
Fremont HS
Garfield HS
Jefferson HS
Jordan HS
Locke HS
Manual Arts HS
Roosevelt HS
San Fernando HS
South Gate HS
Washington Prep HS
Venice HS/
Westchester HS
Venice HS
Westchester HS

from: http://www.gseis.ucla.edu/~outreachevaluation/reports/report6%20.pdf

Bekeley Cal Opportunity Scholarship Eligible High Schools

Abraham Lincoln High School,	San Francisco
Balboa High School,	San Francisco
Castlemont High School,	Oakland
Galileo Academic of Sci. and Tech.,	San Francisco
International Studies Academy,	San Francisco
John C. Fremont High School,	Oakland
John F. Kennedy High School,	West Contra Costa
John O'Connell High School,	San Francisco
McClymonds High School,	Oakland
Mission High School,	San Francisco
Oakland High School,	Oakland
Oakland Technical High School,	Oakland
Phillip and Sala Burton Academy,	San Francisco
Raoul Wallenberg High School,	San Fransciso
Richmond High School,	West Contra Costa
Thurgood Marshall High School,	San Francisco

Source: http://uga.berkeley.edu/fao/scholarships/cal_opportunity_scholarship.htm

Berkeley Incentive Awards Program Partner High Schools

Alameda High School
Albany High School
Alisal High School
Alvarez High School
Balboa High School
Banning High School
Bell High School
Belmont High School
Berkeley High School
Burton High School
Canoga Park High School
Carlmont High School
Carson High School
Castlemont High School
Cleveland High School
Crenshaw High School
De Anza High School
Dorsey High School
El Cerrito High School
Emery High School
Encinal High School
Franklin High School
Fremont High School
Fremont High School (Los Angeles)
Galileo Academy
Garfield High School
Hollywood High School
Huntington Park High School
International Studies Academy
Jefferson High School
Jordan High School
Kennedy High School
Leadership High School
Lincoln High School
Locke High School
Lowell High School
Manual Arts High School
Marshall High School
McClymonds High School
Menlo-Atherton High School
Mission High School
Monroe High School
North Salinas High School
O'Connell High School
Oakland High School
Oakland Technical High School
Pinole Valley High School
Richmond High School
Roosevelt High School
Salinas High School
San Fernando High School
School of the Arts
Sequoia High School
Skyline High School
Wallenberg High School
Washington High School
Washington High School (Los Angeles)
Wilson High School
Woodside High School

Source: http://students.berkeley.edu/incentive/#apply

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